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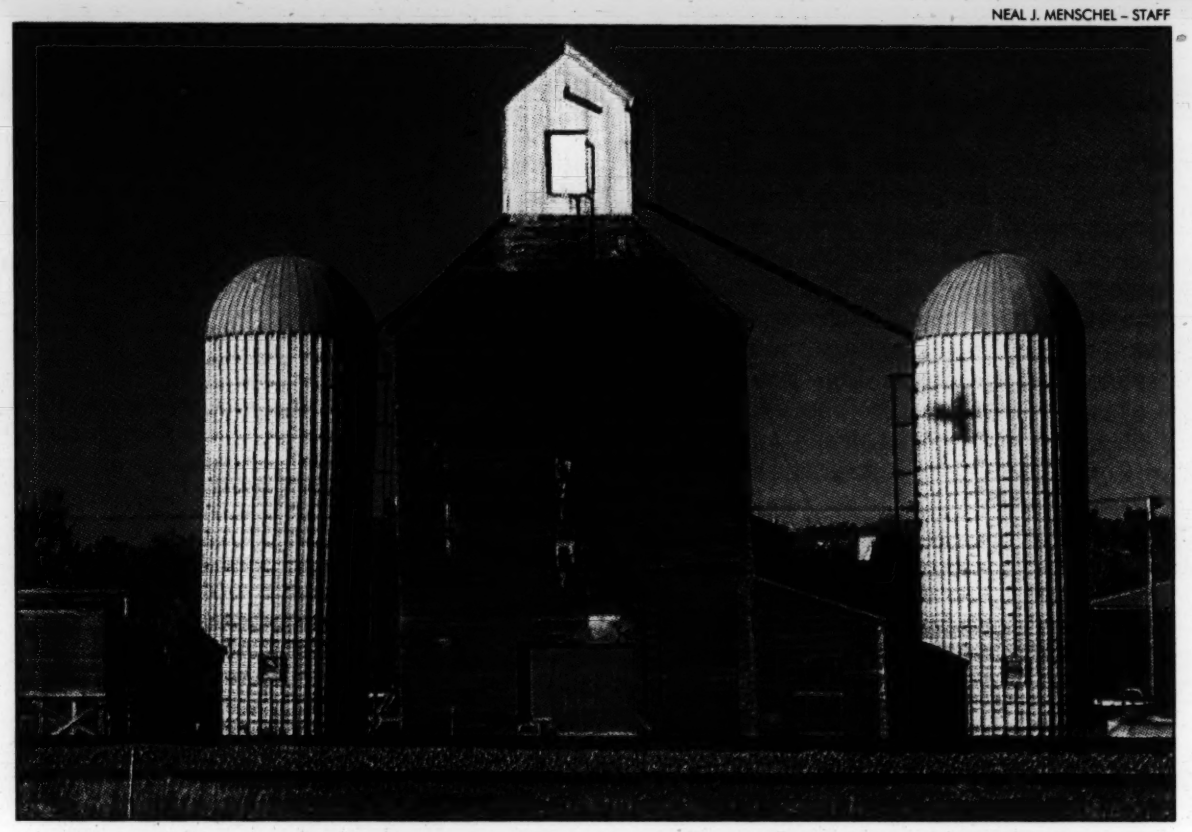
NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF



Monuments to Breadbasket Bounty: Grain Elevators, Belfield, N.D.
The Great Plains Initiative, an ecosystem-management proposal, combines conservation and development in this North American region. **PAGE 10.**

FUJIMORI UNDER FIRE

Peru's President Faces Challenge On Rights Abuses

Top aides are accused of role in death squad

By Sally Bowen
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LIMA, PERU

JUST over a year after President Alberto Fujimori dissolved the legislature and assumed dictatorial rule, Peru is confronting the first test of strength between the executive, the military, and the newly constituted Congress.

Charges of human rights abuses directed at two of the country's most powerful men by the No. 3 man in the Army have led some opposition members of Congress – assumed to be a rubber-stamp body – to demand a full parliamentary investigation.

Accused of commanding a paramilitary death squad responsible for a number of unresolved killings and disappearances, the two men are none other than President Fujimori's most trusted lieutenants: Gen. Nicolas de Rari Hermoza, armed forces chief and backer of Fujimori's palace coup in April 1992; and Vladimiro Montesinos, Fujimori's unofficial national intelligence service chief and key personal adviser.

The charges were leveled May 7 by Peruvian Army Gen. Rodolfo Robles, before he and his family went into exile in Argentina. General Robles fled the country, he says, after learning of threats to his family.

Robles' statement said the Hermoza-Montesinos "machinery for coercion, blackmail, and annihiliation" had run amok, and dubbed the two men "an unscrupulous pair … in charge of a band of uniformed thugs."

Robles implicated the men in two notorious cases, a November 1991 massacre in Lima and the disappearance in July 1992 of a

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CIA Finds That End of Cold War Means Doing More With Less

Agency copes with hefty budget cuts, new demands for economic espionage

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) gets blamed for lots of things. Many people think it controls their minds. Others are sure the agency murdered Elvis. Still others are certain that it knows all about those UFOs they saw at Mt. Rushmore last year – and just isn't telling.

These people write in, demanding documents under the Freedom of Information Act. The law says the CIA must treat them just like working historians or journalists. Problem is, they're clogging the system. "The UFO requester is the most tenacious kind we have to deal with," sighs Jack Wright, CIA information and privacy coordinator.

Conspiracy theorists are only one part of the CIA's problems these days. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the object of greatest attention for US spies has disappeared. The new administration has ordered that hefty cuts be made in the intelligence budget. Yet there's lots for the watchers to watch: Geopolitical events, if anything, are growing more unpredictable.

The demise of the Soviet regime "has revealed a world in some ways more dangerous, more perplexing, more uncertain, and more challenging than it was before," said Director of Central Intelligence James Woolsey in rare open testimony to Congress earlier this spring.

Not everyone in Washington thinks the CIA, with its cloak-and-Uzi image, is now the right part of government to handle US intelligence-gathering tasks. Sources of information are more open today, this theory goes, making the CIA's special talents unneeded.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D) of New York, for one, has proposed breaking up the CIA and handing most of its job to the State Department. Other lawmakers are pushing for deeper cuts in intelligence spending than the $7 billion reduction over the next five years that the White House has planned. Though the figure is

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As one of the few countries still open to asylum-seekers, Denmark's burden is likely to increase.
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The West Coast giant, through its merger with Security Pacific, is learning to be quicker on its feet.
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Departing series that get big send-offs gain notice – and high ratings.
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Clinton's Staff of 'Pups' Is Not Exceptionally Young, But Many Lack Experience

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE Clinton White House is getting rapped hard lately over its alleged youth and inexperience.

Syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer complained last week about the lack of maturity, writing that the White House "gives the impression of a college dorm: energetic, youthful, lightweight."

President Clinton himself joked at the annual Gridiron banquet this spring: "I've got a Cabinet that looks like America, and a staff that looks like a Head Start program."

But how young is the Clinton crew, really?

At the levels that count – that is, where policy and strategy decisions are made and advice presented – the Clinton administration is as old or older than the early Bush administration.

Mr. Clinton's inner Cabinet – the defense, state, and Treasury

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NATIONAL

Clinton Stumps Out of Beltway For Fiscal Plan

ON the road again.... That's where you'll find President Clinton whenever he gets himself in trouble in Washington. Thus yesterday and today the president has been making campaign-like appearances in California and New Mexico that, White House aides hope, will refocus Mr. Clinton, the news media, and the public on the economy – which they say is the administration's top priority.

Yesterday afternoon, Clinton planned to talk about defense conversion after a tour of the Los Alamos National Laboratory in Los Alamos, N.M. Then it was off to Coronado, Calif., for a town meeting. Job training and his prescription for big-city ills are on tap today for California audiences. The president promotes his job-training plans in Van Nuys, Calif., where he will tour a machine shop and talk to employees. Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown will be with Clinton. The president also is scheduled to visit South Central Los Angeles today to support mayoral candidate Mike Woo, a Los Angeles councilman.

Behind the campaigning is the fact that Clinton has had a hard time sustaining support for his deficit-reduction package. Overshadowing his efforts are the troubles in Bosnia, the demise of his jobs bill in the Senate, and complaints from Republicans that the White House budget proposal doesn't cut spending enough. Support for Clinton's economic package and his job performance have slipped sharply in polls over the past few weeks.

The clarity thing

It seems to be an occupational hazard of being president. Once upon a time Bill Clinton was renowned for speaking in complete sentences, with actual subjects, verbs, and objects. But the longer he stays in the White House, the more fractured his syntax becomes. In other words, the more he sounds like George Bush.

Last week, for example, the president told a suburban Chicago high school: "Look, I've lived most of my life. Unless I beat the odds and live to be 94, I've lived half my life – or 92. I can't even add anymore. I've lived more than half my life unless I live to be 92 years old."

He also told a crowd at Cleveland's Galleria shopping mall: "Would it be nice if you could pay your bills and not earn any money to pay them? I don't understand this whole – you can't do one thing at once. But anyway, that's what they say."

– Compiled by Max Boot

An Alternative to Managed Care

Backers of 'single-payer' plan hope that a compromise will emerge from Hillary Clinton's health-care task force

By Adrianne Appel
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

WHILE much of Washington is buzzing about President Clinton's forthcoming health-care reform plan, another idea, called a single-payer plan, is sneaking into second place. Also known as the Canadian-style plan, it already has enough support in Congress, and wide grass-roots appeal, to be a major player once the national debate over health-care reform gets under way in earnest this summer.

The single-payer system, in which private insurance mostly would be eliminated and the government would pay for everybody's care through higher taxes, is favored by 74 Democrats in the House of Representatives and five in the Senate, and interest in it is growing.

Rep. Jim McDermott (D) of Washington introduced a single-payer bill in the House

CLINTON AND HEALTH CARE

even though President Clinton asked members of Congress to delay doing so until after his plan is released, probably in June. "There is an enormous groundswell of support out there" for a single-payer system, Representative McDermott says.

Single-payer proponents from the grass roots let the White House know of their views recently by sending a million "pro-single-payer" postcards to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. "Our strategy is to build as big a force as possible," while the president is still hashing out the details of his plan, says Edwin Rothschild of the consumer advocacy group Citizen Action, a leader behind the push.

Besides Citizen Action, the single-payer system is backed by many large unions – including the Teamsters, the United Auto Workers, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union – and some senior citizens' organizations.

Proponents of the single-payer plan say that it would save money, simplify billing, and expand coverage to all Americans. Opponents – including many Republicans, the American Medical Association, and the insurance industry – say it would put many people out of work, would encourage people to overuse the system because it would be "free," and is at odds with the United States' free-market traditions.

Many opponents of the single-payer plan favor the president's managed competition system. But the president's plan was dealt a major blow last week when the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) reported that it was unable to determine how much money managed competition would save. By contrast, the CBO reported earlier that the single-payer system would slow rising costs and possibly save $14 billion, while increasing benefits and coverage.

The CBO report opened the door for a proponent of the single-payer plan, Rep. Fortney (Pete) Stark (D) of California, a key player in the health debate as chairman of the Ways and Means health subcommittee. He attacked managed competition as a "Unicorn" – or mythical creature – that would not work and would not pass Congress. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D) of Illinois, the powerful chairman of the full Ways and Means Committee, also has indicated he does not like managed competition.

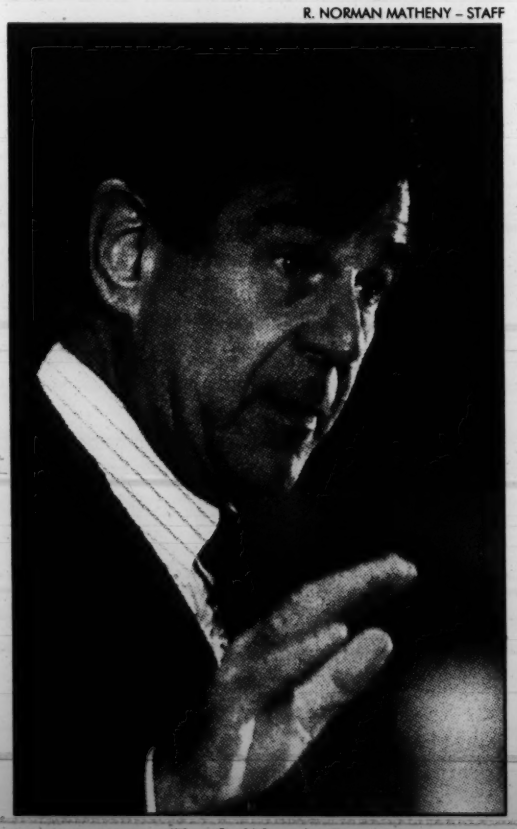
But, although it may face a fight, managed competition is still the favored solution among most Capitol Hill Democrats. Under this plan, Americans would enroll in regional co-ops that would negotiate with comprehensive health-care providers, such as HMOs, for the cheapest and best quality health care.

Republicans also have an alternative plan, which would use tax incentives to encourage consumers to make better health-care choices.

Single-payer supporters report that Mrs. Clinton, who has met with them, appears interested in folding aspects of the single-payer system into the president's plan, in an effort to woo liberal interest groups. The administration is said to be leaning toward an overall cap on health-care spending and the use of a single "health security card," both aspects of a single-payer plan.

McDermott and Sen. Paul Wellstone (D) of Minnesota, who introduced the Senate single-payer bill, say they are willing to compromise with the president and Mrs. Clinton. Senator Wellstone insists, however, that the eventual plan include an overall cap on health-care spending, comprehensive benefits for everyone, and long-term care, an aide says.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



REP. PETE STARK: *The California Democrat advocates government-run health-care plan.*

In another possible compromise, administration officials have indicated a willingness to grant states waivers to pursue their own single-payer options instead of the national health plan. Vermont is leaning heavily in this direction and other states, particularly those on the Canadian border, also appear interested.

But the obstacles facing the single-payer plan at the national level are formidable. Passing the Canadian alternative "is a question of neutralizing the influence of the lobbyists, especially the insurance industry," Senator Wellstone's aide says.

Dr. David Himmelstein, a leading lobbyist on behalf of a single-payer plan, adds that Hillary Clinton told him in a meeting that her health-reform plan includes a large role for insurers, in part because of the political power of the industry.

Dr. Himmelstein and his wife, Dr. Steffie Woolhandler, both physicians at Harvard Medical School and Cambridge Hospital, are the founders of Physicians for a National Health Program, a 6,000-member group that has advocated the Canadian health plan for the past decade.

Many of the problems of the current system stem from the practices of the insurance industry, Dr. Himmelstein argues. "In the old days, not many people had insurance and doctors had to obtain payment from their patients. As more people got insurance, a blank check was written" and the industry remained largely unregulated, he says.

As a result, he adds, "We spend $40 billion more in premiums than we get in benefits."

THE SINGLE-PAYER PLAN

The single-payer plan, modeled on Canada's system, is designed to slow rising health-care costs and would be financed through higher taxes. Under the "Canadian alternative":

- The federal government would take over the financing of all health care.
- Private insurance would be rare.
- The federal government would disperse funds to the states.
- States would administer their own programs, setting an overall budget for hospitals, health-maintenance organizations (HMOs) and clinics, and negotiating fees with doctors.
- Everyone in the United States who wanted to would be enrolled in the system, including those on Medicare, Medicaid, and the Indian Health Service, which would be eliminated.
- Benefits would be increased to include dental, long-term care, mental health, and drugs.
- There would be no co-payments or deductibles.
- Doctors would simply stamp health cards carried by patients and send a standard bill to the state entity that would administer the program.

– A. A.

Pending health reform gives tobacco industry's opponents fresh hope that Congress may approve legislation altering how companies do business

Lawmakers Urge Tougher Rules On Sale, Promotion of Tobacco

By Ron Scherer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

SHOULD tobacco be regulated by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA)?

If Rep. Mike Synar (D) of Oklahoma and Rep. Dick Durbin (D) of Ohio have their way, it will be.

Yesterday, Representatives Synar and Durbin introduced legislation that, if passed, would have a wide impact on the tobacco companies.

"It is very clear as we move forward to a national health-care bill and a new commitment to preventative medicine, the largest drain on our system is tobacco," Synar said in an interview.

According to health-care groups, some 400,000 people per year die because of smoking-related illness. In addition, Synar notes that smoking costs the economy about $65 billion a year in lost productivity and 'medical payments.

Although Synar has failed to convince Congress to approve similar legislation in the past, he says this time "I have a president and first lady who are committed to health-care reform and realize we have to deal with tobacco."

The bill itself is wide-ranging. "This law fundamentally changes the way the tobacco industry is allowed to do business," says Scott Ballin, a vice president of the American Heart Association. For example, the proposal would require the secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), which administers the FDA, to promulgate rules governing the manufacture, distribution, sale, labeling, and advertising of the product.

Among the points of the proposed legislation:

■ A federal minimum age of 18 years to purchase tobacco. Currently, 49 of 50 states have such a minimum age. However, antitobacco advocates point out the laws are not enforced since the average age when tobacco use begins is 13.

The new law would require the FDA to implement the regulations. For example, the FDA could ban vending machines if it determined underage youth routinely obtained cigarettes from such devices. All tobacco products would have to be marked, "Federal law prohibits sale to minors."

■ The tobacco industry would be prohibited from giving out free samples or distributing discounted cigarettes as a result of coupons. Tobacco companies would also be banned from sponsoring sporting and cultural events if the logo of the tobacco product is on display.

■ All tobacco products would have to provide a list of the chemical additives and constituents in the product and its smoke.

■ No tobacco product could have an implied or direct health claim. Thus, low-tar and nicotine cigarettes would be banned unless the HHS secretary approved the use after testing.

To assist in new regulations, an advisory committee of 10 experts in such fields as nicotine addiction and toxicology would be established. However, HHS could not outlaw tobacco simply because of the substance's reported adverse health effects.

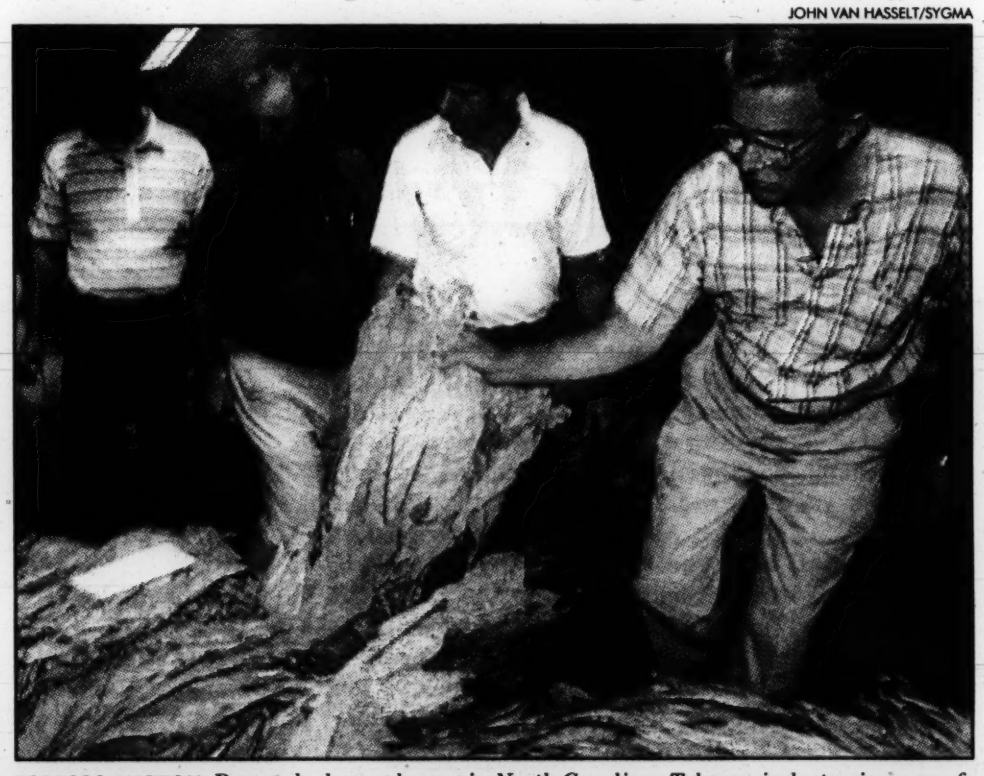
Advocates of the legislation admit it will be an uphill battle to pass the legislation. There have been other attempts dating back to the early 1960s. Almost all have been defeated.

However, the antitobacco advocates say they believe the public has an interest in seeing tobacco regulated. Yesterday, the Coalition on Smoking OR Health released a Gallup survey that found 68 percent of those polled believe the FDA should regulate tobacco products in the same way drugs are controlled. A majority (53 percent) believe tobacco advertising should be banned, including 50 percent from tobacco-growing states.

The Tobacco Institute, the lobbying arm of the industry, does not see the need for the legislation. "Our position in the past has been that the tobacco industry is regulated by government agencies from seed bed to sales counter by a virtual alphabet of government agencies," says Brennan Dawson, a spokeswoman for the Washington-based institute. She adds, "Obviously, we will have to look at the bill."

Although no hearings have been scheduled for the legislation, Synar expects Rep. Henry Waxman (D) of California, chairman of the House Energy and Commerce health subcommittee, to begin hearings once the health-care reform act passes.

JOHN VAN HASSELT/SYGMA



TOBACCO AUCTION: *Buyers look over leaves in North Carolina. Tobacco industry is wary of proposed legislation that would establish new federal regulations on their products.*

Clowns, caterpillars head for sea in oldest footrace in the US – a letter from San Francisco

The Asparagus Wore Sneakers

By Daniel B. Wood
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SAN FRANCISCO

"TO understand San Francisco you have to run Bay to Breakers," said a man wearing a multicolored, balloon headdress that could put Apache chief Cochise to shame.

"You have to feel the hills, smell the smells," he said, "bump shoulders with the people."

I had received similar enticements from local newspapers (Chronicle, Examiner), Channels 4, 5, 7, and 11 as well as the live news copters that buzzed outside my hotel Sunday at 7 a.m. like invading bombers. Just below, 80,000 strong, were the "people" – participants of this city's annual rite of sanctioned lunacy, the 12-kilometer (7.5-mile) footrace from South of Market Street (The Bay), through town, Golden Gate Park, and finishing at Ocean Beach, Pacific Ocean (Breakers).

What the Rose Parade is to Pasadena or the marathon is to Boston, "Bay to Breakers" is to San Francisco.

With the very thin excuse of running for charity, participants dress as cave men, Vikings, clowns, animals, plants, appliances, buildings, food. There are dozens of collective costumes – multiple bodies-become-one – from caterpillars to bridges to submarine sandwiches. And when the going gets tough, the zaniest – about 60 this year – get nude.

I had heard about this race before. According to the Guinness Book of Records, it is the oldest footrace in America, begun in 1912 to celebrate the city's rebirth after the 1906 fire. Now sponsored by the San Francisco Examiner as a major charities fundraiser – collecting $12 a pop for entrants – the race has become one of the most famous in America for its ever-liberalizing celebration of let-it-all-hang-out individualism.

"It has become sort of runners and weirdos unite," the Examiner's Paul Avery told me. "And it's not just San Francisco's race anymore. They come from all over America and around the world."

A few hundred serious runners still vie for cash prizes, sanctioned records, and Olympic berths. But the great majority use the "race" as an outlet for pent-up creativity, donning foam, paper, and cardboard for exaggerated limbs and bodies. "I gotta run in my stocking," said the placard of one man, wearing a 12-foot papier-mâché leg, covered with makeshift "fishnet" nylon.

Pulled in by the clamor and communality, I changed to walking shoes and joined the proceedings. Half urban, half rustic, the race's city smells give over to eucalyptus and chirping birds inside Golden Gate park. A different, live band twangs away every mile. The upbeat mood is infectious.

At the six-mile mark, five judges with rating cards meet and greet the costumed contestants: Michael the Milkman from Palo Alto, a woman from Kansas dressed as a bagel, a drag Whitney Houston. My favorites were 20 guys in Hawaiian shirts with cardboard shark fins for hats, five people dressed as a San Francisco kelp bed, seven in styrofoam Viking horns.

I also met some walking asparagus from Stockholm, a toothbrush from Sydney, and two guys on skis from Menlo Park.

Just past the judges, it's all downhill to the sea. Tables of bottled water greet the finishers, who collapse briefly on the beach then revive for the one day when the city's several neighborhoods unite for the same dance, food, and music festivities.

Post-race exhaustion augurs well for the dropping of social niceties, and taste. Bad puns abound. I asked one parking meter how he felt after running six miles in hot sun beneath cardboard. "Expired," he replied. I took the cue when my headress-festooned acquaintance caught up to me collapsed on the curb.

"Do you have a better feeling for the city having run its most famous race?" he asked.

"I only walked," I said. "So my understanding remains pedestrian."

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secretaries, and the attorney general, who carry the weightiest responsibilities – averages 61.5 years compared with a mere 55 years for their Bush-appointed counterparts in 1989.

Clinton's senior staff, the 18 top aides that run the White House, averages out at 44 years of age, compared with 42.5 for the 14 aides at a similar level in the Bush White House.

Comparing the entire Cabinets of Bush and Clinton, Clinton's is indeed younger, by a little over two years.

Mr. Clinton answered a question about the youth of his staff at a Rose Garden press conference Friday. "Like Lloyd Bentsen and Warren Christopher?" he riposted, naming two prominent Cabinet members who are old enough to be eligible for Social Security. Then he cited his chief of staff, national security adviser, domestic policy adviser, and national economic adviser as all "I think older than our counterparts were when President Kennedy was president."

Yet, clearly, the Clinton team is conveying an aura of youth.

One possible explanation lies in the representatives of the administration that the public and the press see the most: communications director George Stephanopoulos and press secretary Dee Dee Myers. Both took up their present mantles at the age of 31.

The Clinton White House has no veterans of previous administrations at senior levels.

Young, yes, but not remarkably so.

Bill Moyers was 29 when he became a special assistant to President Lyndon Johnson and 31 when he became press secretary, with the assistant to the president rank that Mr. Stephanopoulos carries. Ron Ziegler was even more of a *Wunderkind* when he became press secretary in the Nixon White House at age 30. Carter spokesman Jody Powell assumed his post at 35, Kennedy's Pierre Salinger at 36.

Then there's the president himself. At 46, Clinton is one of the youngest presidents in history, most of whom have been in their 50s. But he is not setting any records. His model in many things, John Kennedy, assumed office at 44. Teddy Roosevelt, however, was an even younger 42.

Stories are common these days of senior-level business executives setting up White House meetings and finding themselves talking to someone who looks almost insultingly junior, notes David Demarest, communications director in the Bush White House (at 37) and now a business consultant. "There's nothing wrong with being young in the White House," he says. "It's a function of seasoning."

The Clinton White House has no veterans of previous White Houses at senior levels. One of the senior aides most experienced in political Washington, Stephanopoulos, is also the youngest.

Part of it is culture. In the Bush White House, men wore suits. It was a Brooks Brothers White House. Under Clinton, khaki pants and sport coats are common.

Young or not, things have loosened up.

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CIA from page 1

officially secret, total spending on the US intelligence community (which includes military intelligence organizations) is currently estimated to be about $28 billion.

Intelligence officials do not deny that the agency needs to be reshaped. They claim they have made a start. Among other things, the number of CIA analysts looking at the former Soviet Union has been cut in half. Overall plans call for a reduction in the number of US intelligence employees of around 18 percent by 1997.

The CIA is even shifting some resources from looking at the possibility of global war to studying global warming. An intelligence officer in charge of the environment, democracy, and other global issues has been added to the National Intelligence Council, the high-level panel that oversees CIA estimates.

Still, it is the large geopolitical problems that dominate the US intelligence agenda. Tracking the command and control of the nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union is the top priority. Potential nuclear powers remain important intelligence problems, among them them North Korea and Iran. US policymakers are also intensely interested in the political faceoff between India and Pakistan, as both nations already have atomic arsenals.

One top agency official says he looks at the world today as a 3-D chessboard. On one level are traditional military problems; on another is economic competition. A third level represents transnational problems such as the environment and refugee flows.

"Politics in this world will be much more surprising," says Joseph Nye Jr., chairman of the National Intelligence Council.

IT is the economic part of the equation that presents the CIA with perhaps its most acute challenge. Clinton officials say over and over again that national prosperity is the foundation of security. If that's the case, why not use the CIA in the aid of American business, and use it to gather economic intelligence?

Our allies do it, after all – though many of them had signed bilateral agreements that they wouldn't. The French government's apparent recent attempt to penetrate US aerospace corporations is but the latest example of something that has gone on for years. Throughout the cold war the US took a low-key attitude when it identified such actions. Now it's every spook for himself.

"No more Mr. Nice Guy," said a senior intelligence official in a recent meeting with reporters.

Some high Clinton administration officials, as well as senior members of House and Senate intelligence oversight committees, want the US to respond in kind. The intelligence community itself is leery. Gathering economic intelligence, broadly defined, is already a CIA task. But industrial espionage is something the CIA doesn't want to do, though the agency is studying the issue.

Of course the conceit that all intelligence work requires the wearing of a trench coat is somewhat misleading. Much of what the CIA does is analysis – the gathering and sifting of both open-source and clandestine information. And fully two-thirds of CIA analysis is relatively mundane "tactical" intelligence – background on Somali clans, for instance, or biographies of important foreign officials.

Improved dissemination of such information is an important intelligence issue. One proposal the CIA is studying involves an interactive computer screen on policymakers' desks connected by fiber-optic cable to Langley. Government officials could then pull what they wanted to see from intelligence data bases, rather than having it pushed upon them in the form of daily printed classified pages.

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university professor and nine students. Both cases are on the United States State Department's list of nine priority cases of alleged human rights violations that Peru must resolve.

The two cases became *causes célèbres* here for first raising fears that such a squad was operating in Lima to eliminate people suspected of connections with the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrilla movement.

Strengthened charges

While Lima weeklies had previously printed allegations by anonymous Army officers that General Hermoza and Mr. Montesinos approved the extrajudicial killings, General Robles' stature lends extra weight to the accusations.

Fujimori has thrown his weight behind the men, reiterating his "complete confidence" in them and arguing that they are largely responsible for recent spectacular successes against Peru's prime guerrilla groups – Sendero and the Tupaz Amaro Revolutionary Movement.

Diplomats in Lima express concern at Fujimori's warning that he will "absolutely refuse to allow any interference by Congress in intelligence matters."

"Mr. Fujimori is now in a very difficult position," comments a Western diplomat here. "He obviously doesn't want to show weakness before the Congress, but foreign governments will be pressing hard for clarification of the Robles charges."

Hermoza has already tried intimidation tactics. In late April, he pulled about 30 tanks onto the streets and told congressmen he "would not tolerate" investigation of his officers. The Supreme Council of Military Justice says the armed forces is the place for any investigation, and the Council has belatedly said it will question those charged.

Military experts say there is no doubt that killings like those in these two cases have been carried out by specialist groups – and with the knowledge of superiors at the highest levels.

"Army officers don't take risks anymore," says Enrique Obando, an expert in military studies at a Lima-based international affairs institute. "If we're talking about planning and coldly carrying out the 'disappearance' of a dozen people, then it's with orders from above – no one else is so stupid as to do that without being promised immunity in advance."

Montesinos' role

A key question is Montesinos' role. The former Army captain-turned lawyer is a shadowy figure, almost never seen or photographed. But he reportedly has been Fujimori's closest confidant since the 1990 election campaign, when he apparently resolved a number of possible lawsuits that could have damaged Fujimori's reputation.

Montesinos was cashiered from the Army in 1975 for allegedly selling secrets to the US Central Intelligence Agency, an enemy of the leftist military then in power. Charges were later dropped, but for years he was an outcast from military circles.

Yet now Montesinos is the crucial link between the president and armed forces. He is the architect of the new-style intelligence service, enlarged and enhanced during Fujimori's presidency.

Montesinos has also become the decisive voice in military promotions, raising the hackles of armed forces traditionalists. According to a Defense Ministry source, "he keeps secret files with information on every high-ranking officer – to use as 'persuasion' as and when he sees fit." Some say he has a sinister hold over Fujimori himself.

"Montesinos is the real blot on Fujimori's otherwise valiant efforts to put an end to immorality and corruption," says a Western military attaché in Lima. "I cannot understand why the president doesn't simply get rid of him."

Which is exactly what some congressmen are demanding. But the memory of April 5, 1992, when Fujimori dissolved the twin-chambered legislature for allegedly blocking his reformist path, may dissuade the majority from open confrontation with him.

While Fujimori remains unflinching in his support for Hermoza and Montesinos, a senior diplomat says, "the cracks already apparent in Peru's fragile institutional structure can only grow wider."

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Sugar, Dairy Quotas Raise Aussie Doubts Over US 'Free Trade'

By Catherine Foster
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SYDNEY

WHEN President Clinton was elected, Australian farmers worried that he might turn out to be more protectionist than former President Bush. Two recent moves by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) – cutting sugar import quotas and subsidizing US dairy exports to the Philippines – are starting to confirm those fears.

The USDA announced May 12 it would decrease the quota of sugar imports by 16 percent in the 1993/94 marketing year. While country-by-country quotas have not been released yet, Australia is estimating its cut to be about 10,000 tons on a pro rata basis.

While Canegrowers, the sugar growers' association, says that the sugar will be sold elsewhere, it will be at a lower price, and they expect to lose $3 million. The US has gradually been turning off the spigot of Australian sugar over the last decade. Sugar imports have declined 90 percent since the early 1980s, from more than 800,000 tons to an expected 86,000 tons next year.

"Coming on top of restraints on Australian meat exports and the impact of US export subsidies on Australian grains and cotton, US agricultural policy is turning 1993 into a bleak year for Australian farmers," says Trade Minister Peter Cook.

Ian Ballantyne, general manager of Canegrowers, says, "In the overall scheme, the loss of the 10,000 tons isn't the issue, the [main] issue is that there is a quota. What we'd always like to see is free access to market. But given that there is one, we'd like as large a slice as we could get."

John McQueen, head of the Australian Dairy Farmers' Federation, says that the industry has been getting signals from the USDA that it will use subsidies on dairy exports, known as DEEPs (dairy export enhancement program), on products going to the Philippines. The US has used these subsidies to compete with heavily subsidized European Community (EC) countries. But, says Mr. McQueen, the Philippines has "never had influence from the EC." The Philippines has always been a joint market for Australia and New Zealand.

McQueen says he sees the DEEPs as a "very disquieting thing." "The EC has reduced dairy subsidies by 5 percent just recently; at the same time we're seeing the US using dairy subsidies in markets where EC has not been playing," he says.

"One of the aspects about current change is that there's been a change in the mechanism in the way the US sets quotas. It does indicate change in principles applied in the past," says Bernard Milford, economic and technical services manager for the Canegrowers. It concerns Australia, he adds, because regardless of what the US has said about the international General Agreement on Tarriffs and Trade, Canegrowers questions US sincerity.

Guy Farmer, spokesman for the US Embassy in Canberra, says that the US has used agriculture subsidies in the Philippines before. He insists that the US will not give up this bargaining tool with the EC while the EC still subsidizes its farmers.

"There is a concern, not just in Australia but in a number of countries, that the US could become more protectionist," says McQueen of the Dairy Farmers' Federation.

Australia will raise these issues during trade talks in Washington May 26 and 27.

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INTERNATIONAL

OAS Team Tries to Stem Tide of Haitian Abuses

Effort to return Aristide has not stopped violations of human rights

By Kathie Klarreich
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

SHORTLY after Haiti's military coup in 1991, the Organization of American States (OAS) began negotiations to restore democracy and return exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. But the attempts to find a peaceful solution did little to stop the illegal arrests, disappearances, torture, and killings taking place here.

At the request of President Aristide, the OAS sent a small group of human rights monitors to Haiti last September. The military government, however, refused to allow them to leave the capital. With increased international pressure, a Feb. 9 agreement was reached with the government to allow a new civilian presence to investigate rights abuses.

A team of observers soon arrived, and they are currently fanning out through Haiti's nine geographic departments. Their mandate is to guarantee the respect for human rights promised by the Haitian Constitution.

The mission is supposed to operate independently from the negotiating team, spearheaded by UN Special Envoy Dante Caputo. But the negotiations' roller-coaster path has slowed the mission's attempt to reduce human rights violations and bring more stability to the country.

"We have reason to believe there is a correlation between the repression and the political crisis," said Mission Director Colin Granderson of Trinidad. "The majority of people targeted are alleged Aristide supporters. If we could finalize a negotiated settlement, I believe there would be a dramatic decrease in the number of human rights violations."

Negotiations stalled in April when Mr. Caputo failed to reach an agreement with the Haitian military. Among the conditions presented were the resignation of the Haitian military's high command in return for political amnesty for the putschists, a new prime minister, and the return of Aristide.

A new shower of violence followed Caputo's April 16 departure from Haiti. Joe Sills, spokesman for UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said international officials are "profoundly worried about the number and severity of violations of human rights, consisting of arbitrary detentions, systematic repression, and torture perpetrated and inflicted by members of the armed forces and persons aligned with them.... The attacks are to restrain, prohibit, and forbid freedom of expression, the right to meet peacefully and demonstrate."

"The target of repression is the youth and community organizers," says Father Antoine Adrien, head of the Presidential Commission, a group selected to represent Aristide while he is in exile. "The core of the problem is the Army, because they have taken the law into their own hands," he adds.

Many Haitians support the mission, but some pro-coup supporters object on nationalistic grounds. There are others who just don't understand it. Illiterate peasants in the countryside, isolated from news, are mistrustful of the foreigners. Living under the gun of the local sheriff, they have preferred to suffer in silence rather than risk reprisals by complaining about abuses.

At a recent meeting in the southeastern town of Marigot, three quarters of the peasants who had gathered to give testimony on repression fled when word arrived that the military was searching for the meeting.

"Still, there's some hint that there's at least been a little improvement," said Belela Herrera, a sympathetic Uruguayan who has helped coordinate the human rights work. Some people who haven't been able to return home in a year and a half are going back.

"Although there's fear, people seem to be less afraid to talk to observers, so we know more. We feel ... with citing of the guilty parties, maybe they will be more reticent to attack for fear of being tried later on."

The mission has been allowed access to most prisons. In one town on Haiti's southern coast, however, the rural sheriff preferred to release all the prisoners rather than allow the mission to have access to them.

In Ti Goabe in the west, the mission found people starving to death because the military had separated them from prisoners whose family brought food.

"Despite the numerous problems," said Anne Fuller of the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, "I'm encouraged that the mission is acting in the right way. They are confronting the military with specific cases, publicizing abuses, naming the guilty party, intervening in arrest. Still, in recent weeks, there's no question but that the Army has been reacting agressively."

ERIC BEHRENS

ARISTIDE SUPPORTER: *Negotiations between the UN and Haitian government continue for the return of exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, whose photo is shown here.*

With Britain and France closed and Germany shutting the door to refugees, Denmark is grappling with ways to meet a growing burden

Generosity of 'Big-Hearted' Danes Is Tested by Influx of Refugees

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

COPENHAGEN

ON a landing of Copenhagen's inner harbor, not far from the sleek ferries that will soon carry thousands of summer vacationers to Sweden and the ports of Central Europe, a stark white structure that looks like a floating apartment block is home to 1,000 Bosnian refugees.

Called a "flotel," the four-story building that formerly served as housing for an offshore oil platform in Saudi Arabia now helps house some of the thousands of asylum-seekers who have knocked at Denmark's door from the former Yugoslavia in recent months.

"We wanted to go to America, but America does not like us; they wouldn't let us in," says Phillip Kajinic, who along with his wife, daughter, and brother, came to Denmark in December from Zenica, a town northwest of Sarajevo in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Having decided to flee their war-torn homeland, the Kajinics learned that only Denmark and Sweden remained open to them. After a bus trip to Poland, they took a ferry for Copenhagen. "It's not so bad here," says Phillip, motioning from his family's cabin to a view of sun-warmed central Copenhagen. "The Danish people have a big heart."

Strained generosity

The limits of Danish largesse are being tested. Hundreds more refugees, mostly Bosnian, arrive here each week even as larger European countries like Britain and France keep them out.

Although still very rare, several anti-refugee acts have shaken the country in recent months as calls to slow the incoming flow have increased, and local communities have stepped up resistance to new refugee centers.

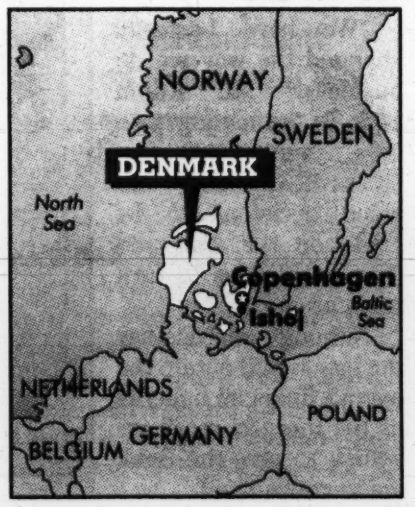
"Sometimes we're criticized as thieves in the night, because we come in and set up a new center without local approval," says Rasmus Nielsen of the Danish Red Cross, which is responsible for housing asylum-seekers. "But our main problem is to make sure everybody has a bed."

What until 1991 was still a trickle has multiplied as the Balkans situation has deteriorated. Denmark, with a population of 5 million, now hosts nearly 60,000 refugees and asylum-seekers; as many as 2,000 new asylum seekers arrive each month.

The 16,000 who came to Denmark last year are few compared to the 440,000 asylum-seekers who arrived in Germany, or the 83,000 who went to Sweden. But Germany is taking steps to stem the numbers of refugees arriving. And a recent poll in Sweden showed three-fourths of the respondents supporting sealing off the borders.

The growing numbers are forcing Denmark to develop new ideas for accommodating refugees while avoiding problems with the Danish people. Denmark's traditional generosity is beginning to show some cracks as its homogeneous people become increasingly unsettled by the foreigners among them.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



"From my perspective, most of the Danish are supportive, but we have to be careful," Mr. Nielsen says. "That could change very fast."

The Red Cross is spreading new refugee centers around the country rather than concentrating them in larger cities. And this year, 14 "villages" will be built, made up of modular wooden housing and serving 5,000 refugees.

"One idea is that when these people go home they will be able to take these houses with them," Nielsen says. The Red Cross distributes a newspaper entitled "Visitors in Town" to the neighborhoods of new centers.

The newspaper reminds local readers that refugees are not allowed to work – and thus are not an employment threat – and that unemployed Danes often get work building or servicing the centers. And Red Cross officials often remind a new center's neighbors that the money the refugees receive for food and other needs is spent in local shops.

Humanitarian urge

No such "sell" was needed for the flotel moored in Copenhagen's progressive and cause-oriented Christianshavn district. Nearby churches are active in helping out, a local radio station grants air time for a refugee program, and sports organizations have opened their teams and playing fields to the new arrivals.

"In this part of town, if people say 'yes' to something, they support it," says Ralf Kopke, a flotel manager. "Just [one mile] from here they tried to put refugees in a neighborhood with 40 percent unemployed, and it took a long time to make any progress."

With the radio playing Whitney Houston in the background, the Kajinic family discusses their "good fortune" in arriving in this "very humane neighborhood." They insist they can never go back to Bosnia.

For one thing, Phillip is a Croat and Christian while his wife, Aida, is Muslim. "Where could we go back to?" asks Phillip. "I don't intend to go back," Aida adds. "There must be some place in this world where I can just live normally with my husband and child."

As they see doors to the West closing to refugees, the Kajinics also express relief that they left their homeland when they did.

Referring to recent German moves to pay eastern neighbors like Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia to keep more refugees and to beef up their border controls, Phillip's brother Alojz says, "The rich may pay the poor to take care of [us], but that's not going to solve the problem."

Refugee workers here acknowledge that it is the prospect for continuing hostilities in Europe that is challenging the openness of countries like Denmark.

"In the back of people's minds, they're thinking about Russia and what instability there would mean," Nielsen says. "We can handle 50,000, but 500,000 wouldn't be possible. What has people uneasy is they aren't sure when this is going to stop."

Working-Class City Confronts Culture Shock Of Immigrant Concentration

ISHOJ, DENMARK

IN the covered shopping center of this small town 10 miles south of Copenhagen, the clothing, food, and electronics shops look just like those one would find in any Danish city.

What is strikingly different here are the shoppers – a mix of the world's races and skin tones in among the blond-haired, blue-eyed Danes that gives even cosmopolitan Copenhagen a feeling of provincialism by comparison.

Ishoj (pronounced "Ishoy"), a 25-year-old city of 21,000 built where only a few farms and a small village once stood, has the highest foreign population of any Danish city – about 15 percent. That may seem small to someone from the West's more multicultural countries. But for many Danes, accustomed to an extremely homogeneous society, it is a worrisomely high figure.

Ishoj is now a city where Denmark's tradition of tolerance and magnanimity toward the world's less fortunate is confronting the reality of international migrations. And according to the city's mayor, who finds himself with apartment buildings where native Danes now refuse to live and schools that Danish children won't attend because of the concentration of foreigners, the Danes are turning out to be pretty much like anyone else: They are leaving the problems of cultural integration for society's strained working class to figure out.

"Here in Ishoj we have Danes with low income and social status, but the parliament tells this city to be the best and the big-hearted, and take care of the foreign people," says Per Madsen, a former machinist and now Ishoj's mayor. "Those with high incomes don't want to have to worry about these problems."

Mr. Madsen, a big man who is very popular in his town, has made a name for himself in Denmark as the Social Democratic politician who dares to buck political correctness by speaking out on the issue of foreign residents.

He says it is not foreigners themselves but their concentration that causes problems. But his pleadings with the country's parliament to facilitate a wider distribution of Denmark's 175,000 immigrants, especially through laws that govern public housing, have won no results.

Most of his Social Democratic colleagues dismiss his arguments as an unfortunate alibi for the country's far right. At the same time, leaders of Denmark's ultraconservative Progressive Party do indeed cite him as an example of how "even some Social Democrats are beginning to see the dangers of too many foreigners," says Progressive parliamentarian Anette Just.

Ishoj's foreign population includes more than 50 nationalities, with a high concentration of Turks, Pakistanis, and Yugoslavs (most of whom came as guest workers before their country's breakup). The biggest problems arise when "large numbers of rural, low-educated people come to a developed and well-educated society," Madsen says. "People just don't mix."

This is especially true of the town's 1,900 Turks, he says. "No matter what we try, they live as though there were in a little village back home," he says. "Their children don't learn Danish, their women don't live like Danish women, and they don't even marry Turks in Denmark," he says. "They prefer to bring over someone from back home."

Denmark would be better off, the mayor says, if it limited the concentration of foreigners in public housing complexes, did more to educate foreign children to speak Danish, and approved stricter restrictions on family reunification laws for immigrants – a direction other European countries, most recently France, are already taking. Madsen says Ishoj's public school population, with a 27 percent foreign average and topping 35 percent in the lowest grades, indicates the concentration will only become more acute. And as it does, he says, the integration problems he faces now will only get worse.

"I remember when the US had racial riots in the '60s, the Danish people were so fine, they held their head high and said we couldn't have such problems in Denmark. But now we are having the beginnings in Denmark," he adds. "It will be of small help to me if, when it leads to something bad for us all, people say, 'We see you were right.' "

– H. L.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

For Children: Old Dreams, New Financial Education

A NATIONAL poll of more than 1,000 children aged six to 17 finds some age-old aspirations:

Answering the question, "What is your wildest dream for when you grow up," nearly 18 percent (and 30 percent of boys) said a sports star, with baseball, basketball, and football the top activities. The second most popular career was medicine, at 16 percent of responses (more than one-fourth of girls wanted to be doctors, veterinarians, or other health specialists).

Girls' other "dream" professions included teaching (12 percent), performing arts (10 percent), law (4 percent), and modeling (3 percent). For boys, far behind athletic stardom were law enforcement/fire fighting, medicine, flying/space exploration, and science/engineering, all garnering 4.5 to 6 percent of responses.

Boys were more likely than girls to be motivated primarily by enjoyment of the activity (40 percent versus 25 percent) and salary (15 percent versus 8 percent). Girls were motivated more by an interest in helping people or animals (25 percent versus 8 percent for boys). The Life Savers division of Nabisco Foods Group sponsored the Gallup Organization survey.

Learning capitalism

Move over, Monopoly. Kids have a new way to learn the concepts of capitalism, and it's not a board game. "The Young Investor" is a newsletter written for youths aged eight to 14. (P.O. Box 150661, Fort Worth, TX 76108).

The start-up publication covers topics such as "How is currency manufactured? What is the magic of compounded interest? What are stocks and bonds?" The first issue explores the history of money and includes several puzzles.

Fact check

College enrollment rises: An all-time high 63 percent of recent high school graduates enrolled in colleges or universities in the fall of 1992, the United States Labor Department says.

Small-business blues: An index of small-company optimism has fallen to its lowest point in more than two years, from a seasonally adjusted 102.1 this January to 97.0 in April, the National Federation of Independent Business reported yesterday.

The survey also found about 70 percent of business owners dissatisfied with federal government policy, and more than half dissatisfied with state policies.

– Compiled by Mark Trumbull

ECONOMY

A Bigger Bank of America Learns to Be Lighter on Its Feet

West Coast bank's merger with Security Pacific brings lessons in managing change

By David C. Walters
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SAN FRANCISCO

MERGING two major banking companies always brings both expected and unexpected results.

When BankAmerica Corporation, the nation's third-largest bank, acquired its southern California sister, Security Pacific Corporation, the goal was to quickly gain financial economies of scale.

Many analysts credit the Bank of America with accomplishing that goal. The bank reported last month that it is achieving annual merger-related cost savings of $880 million, and that ultimately the efficiency gain will amount to $1.2 billion a year. On the negative side, the bank paid almost $6 billion above book value for certain assets – a sum it will amortize over 20 years.

An unexpected benefit of the merger was that it forced the Bank of America to make changes in a corporate culture infamous for its bureaucracy.

In order to smoothly switch commercial customers of Security Pacific into the Bank of America system in just six months, executives had to dump the regular memo-laden procedures for a whole new set of rules.

'I'm going to become a crusader on this. Management processes need to change. That's just the nature of the world today.'
– Richard Griffith, Bank of America executive

Richard Griffith, who was Bank of America's head of wholesale operations at the time of the merger, decided that he would have to "suspend normal operating procedures." This involved several innovations for the company, including:

Convening a daily morning meeting. These were attended by top executives and people several layers down in every bank department that needed to be involved on merger-related decisions. Not only does that eliminate "dead time," Mr. Griffith says; it also "gives a project a much clearer, crisper set of objectives."

Committing up front to a delivery date. "We found the necessary staff and funding, and put the right people in place to hit that date," Griffith says. This is used for both product and service changes.

Dispensing with memos. "We realized that if you had all the people in the room, there should be no need for paper," Griffith says. The whole pace of decisionmaking picked up.

With top executives there, "these meetings become sacrosanct – people show up," says Bill Selmi, a senior vice president. "There is a closeness. People work together rather than reading memos."

Meeting with bank customers regularly. This made sure the decisions being made in rapid-fire fashion actually fit the customers' needs. Top executives had to get out of the office to resolve customer concerns and problems. Another benefit, says Colin Klipin, a Bank of America executive vice president, is that when the delivery time for new products shrinks, the products fit the market much more closely.

Thus, rather than forcing old project-management procedures onto Security Pacific, the Bank of America is developing a fresh operating style of its own as a result of the merger. "We're going to use the same processes to accelerate our product development, accelerate our project management, and accelerate our decisionmaking," Griffith says.

Unlike manufacturing companies, where executives look to faster machines for productivity gains, a service business like banking improves efficiency by changing the decisionmaking process to encourage better and faster decisions.

Once the merger was completed, executives began to ask themselves: Can a multinational bank learn to be as nimble and responsive as a tiny hometown bank around the corner?

"We have basically changed the way we do business," Mr. Klipin says. In the merger process, "senior management involvement enabled decisions to be made on the spot and then enabled us to turn them around."

Although analysts say the jury is still out on the overall financial benefits of the merger, most are willing to give the Bank of America a chance to prove itself.

"I'm dubious about all the implied cost savings in these mergers," says Paul Bauer, publisher of Bauer Financial Reports in Coral Gables, Fla. "But the way they [the Bank of America] have been operating recently, I assume they knew what they were doing."

Banking employment shrank by 56,595 in '92, according to Bauer Financial Reports. Of 840 institutions that were shuttered, 492 closed because of mergers.

Now the Bank of America's biggest concern is the miserable California economy. Southern California particularly is stuck in a recession.

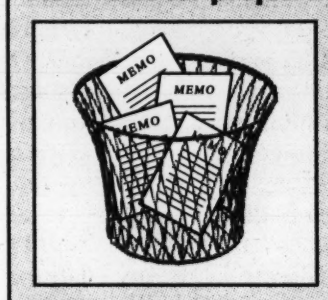
"If there is a major problem ... it's more the economic environment in the state of California," says Donald Crowley of Financial Institutions Analysts & Consultants, a San Francisco bank consulting firm. "The headwinds they are running into in southern California represent the shortfall in earnings expectations."

Yet whether the economy improves or not, bank officials say they are continuing to streamline day-to-day operations. They say the bank will be very competitive when the economy does come back.

DAVE HERRING – STAFF

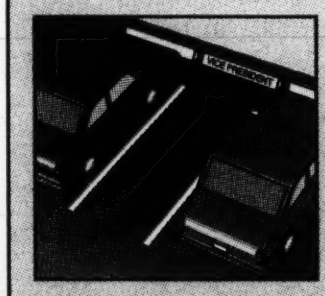
Remaking Bank of America

New rules for project management



1. Inter-department memos are eliminated – only one-page project summaries are allowed in meetings.

2. Team members must commit to a firm delivery date for the product or project.



3. Executives have to get out of the office and talk directly to customers – this keeps projects on track.

4. Everyone needed to make a decision is in the room, from top-level executives to low-rung legal assistants.

Griffith estimates that management decisions are coming three to five times faster under the new procedures, at least doubling employee productivity.

Formerly, a new project would be pursued by a small group of people that would start down the road trying to gather all the people and resources needed. "Each one would start to [play] phone tag and time would go by," Griffith says.

"Employees absolutely love the new approach," Mr. Selmi says. "It's more rewarding because they get recognition and get to interact with the boss."

Griffith, meanwhile, is not waiting for bad economic conditions to improve. "I see no impediment except for ourselves," he says. "I'm going to become a crusader on this. Management processes need to change. That's just the nature of the world today. Those who can't get faster and better will not be here."

That's just the kind of thing the bank's top managers – and stockholders – like to hear. Griffith's operations responsibilities recently expanded to include the trust side of the business.

United Way Hit by Weak Economy, Old Scandal, and Competition

By Suzanne L. MacLachlan
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

MORE than 1,200 United Way volunteers and staff members converged on San Francisco last week for a conference dubbed "Changing Today, Challenging Tomorrow." For the largest philanthropic organization in the United States, the past year has been one of big changes and even greater challenges.

Last year William Aramony, then president and chief executive officer of United Way of America (UWA), was forced to resign amid allegations of lavish spending and questionable business practices. In response, many of the local United Ways that are paying members of UWA (1,400 out of a total of 2,100) withheld dues and tried to distance themselves from their parent organization.

The scandal, along with a slow economy, made 1992 a year of sharp decline in pledges. Local affiliates typically solicit contributions each year in thousands of workplaces nationwide, and pass the money to selected charitable organizations.

United Way of America is trying to pick up the pieces and start over. It recently announced a restructuring of programs and staff intended to "begin a new era of strength," says Elaine Chao, UWA's new president and chief executive officer.

Ms. Chao, a former Peace Corps director and deputy secretary of transportation in the Bush administration, says her mandate as president is to better serve local United Ways. She has spent most of her first four months on the job visiting affiliates from Bath, Maine, to Portland, Ore., to find out what they are looking for and what they feel is missing.

To make United Ways more effective in their communities, UWA has to become more sensitive to supporting their needs, Chao says. "This is a redress that is badly needed and long in coming. The question was how to consolidate and rationalize certain functions so there would be quick decisionmaking and responsiveness to the field."

The new organizational structure emphasizes training, field relations, and quality of service, Chao says. A member-services division was created to provide consultation and technical assistance to local United Way fundraising efforts.

Most of the money local United Ways raise is sent to agencies that provide services for children, the elderly, the homeless, or to offer education, treatment, and research in health care. Many of the United Ways are falling millions of dollars short of previous campaign-pledge levels.

United Way recently announced a restructuring of programs and staff intended to 'begin a new era of strength.'

Under the plan, one-third of UWA's staff was let go and one-third of its budget cut. New staff had to be "willing to buy on to change," she says.

Some local United Ways, even those which initially withheld dues and stressed their independence from UWA, are willing to give the new plan a chance.

"A significant amount of thought and planning went into the decision" to restructure UWA, says Marian Heard, president and chief executive officer of United Way of Massachusetts Bay. "This is kind of trial and error, but I certainly am confident enough to support the trial."

The test, Ms. Heard says, will be whether or not, when a local United Way turns to UWA for help, it gets the answer it needs. The United Way of Massachusetts Bay still does not release its dues to the parent organization until its board reviews UWA reports each quarter to make sure new policy recommendations have been put into place.

Part of the problem in the past, Chao says, was that UWA took local United Way pledge money for granted. "Now we're trying to get advanced projections as to when the money will be coming in," Chao says. "We've never done that before."

The United Way of Massachusetts Bay needs help from UWA just as much as UWA needs its dues, Heard says. "There's great strength in pulling together. The trade association can do things at the national level that local United Ways cannot do."

Even before the current problems developed, UWA was coming under criticism for being "narrow-minded," since it does not give money to certain alternative charitable groups.

Charitable organizations for women, blacks, the environment, and other causes have had to create competing charitable funds because they have been excluded from the United Way, charges Beth Daley, assistant director of the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy in Washington. United Way says the charge is unfair.

Massachusetts United Way Must Cut Staff

BOSTON

THE United Way of Massachusetts Bay has had a tough year.

In its 1992 fund-raising campaign, the group raised $44 million, down more than $3 million from the previous year. As a result, it is having to cut 13 management positions and reduce its staff to 80 from 124 in 1990.

"Like the United Way of America [the parent organization], we're having to work differently," says Marian Heard, president and chief executive officer. "We have new campaign procedures, new cost controls. We've had to look at the whole internal and external operation."

"Compared with what's happening nationally, we did very well," adds spokeswoman Maureen Sullivan.

Ms. Heard says she has encouraged agencies that depend on United Way contributions to take whatever steps they must to shore up other revenue sources, with the understanding that the United Way cannot provide for all their needs.

The United Way of Massachusetts Bay sets aside 15 percent of the funds it raises for administrative and fund-raising costs. "If we could go beyond that, to 17 or 18 percent, it would be easier," Ms. Sullivan says. "But we've promised the community we would maintain 15 percent."

"We've cut and cut and cut and cut until finally it is staff [we're cutting]," she says.

– S. L. M.

MARKETWATCH

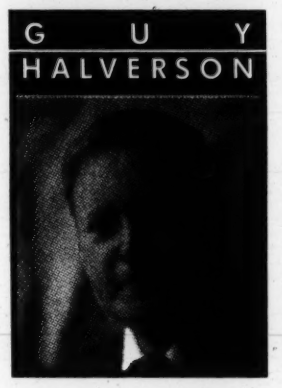
Markets Eye Inflation More Than Bosnia

NEW YORK

CONCERNS about a renewal of inflation and a possible increase in interest rates are currently driving United States financial markets.

Last Thursday the bond and stock markets reacted negatively to reports that inflation may be inching back up in the US economy. All major financial markets fell in heavy trading. On Friday the Dow Jones industrial average closed at 3,443, up 5.82 points for the week. Despite increasing discussion by Western powers of the use of limited force to end the war in Bosnia, the Balkans are just "not relevant" to stock market concerns at this juncture, says one New York brokerage official.

That aloofness regarding foreign policy contrasts sharply with market reaction to the Gulf crisis, which had a generally negative initial impact on financial markets. Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2, 1990, the bears roared through a number of global financial exchanges; in the US, stock prices stayed well below the level of the pre-invasion market throughout the summer; sales for the big three US auto firms fell precipitously amid concerns that an oil shortage would develop.



But regarding Bosnia, "about the worst thing that could happen for the US now is that Washington would begin bombing Serbian targets," the brokerage official says. That action by itself would not disturb the markets. The financial community is not "indifferent" to the plight of the people caught up in the Bosnian situation, the official says; rather, Bosnia is a "sideline issue" in terms of the global economy.

What's clearly troubling the financial community are questions about the durability of the US economic recovery, including a possible resurgence of inflation, says Larry Wachtel, a vice president with Prudential Securities Inc.

Mr. Wachtel says that the general public may have been surprised by last week's wide swings in the Dow. But, although that index gets most of the media attention, other broader market indicators have been steadier.

In recent weeks the Dow has been marching upward. What's forgotten, Wachtel says, is that the blue-chip Dow often does well because of one or two fast-moving stocks in that narrow 30-stock index. Broader measurements, such as the Standard & Poor's 500 stock index and the Nasdaq over-the-counter market, tend to highlight a wider spectrum of companies.

Apprehensions about inflation came to a head last week with the release of the Consumer Price Index for April, which rose 0.4 percent, higher than had been expected. That hike brought the US inflation rate close to a 4.3 percent annual rate so far this year, well above the 2.9 percent rate for all of 1992. Some economists say the April spike was a statistical fluke, reflecting weather-related prices for produce.

David Hale, chief economist for Kemper Securities Inc. in Chicago, says that, for now at least, financial markets will continue to focus on domestic matters, rather than international affairs.

"The Bosnian crisis," he says "is a very different set of issues from the Gulf war. Serbia has already largely achieved its objectives," which means that any possible US action would presumably be very limited, he says. The one major danger is that the war could escalate into a larger Balkan war. Any use of American ground forces would certainly get the quick attention of Wall Street, he reckons.

"The stock market has enough problems on its agenda" without worrying about Bosnia, argues Dennis Jarrett, chief market analyst for Kidder, Peabody & Co. The financial community, like most people, grieves over the situation there, he says. But unless the conflict grows into a Vietnam scenario, it is likely that the stock market will continue to sit on the sidelines.

If the US were to get into the conflict, Mr. Jarrett notes, the market would probably drop initially. He notes that some companies might profit from US intervention. Moreover, the war would be used to block spending cuts at the Pentagon.

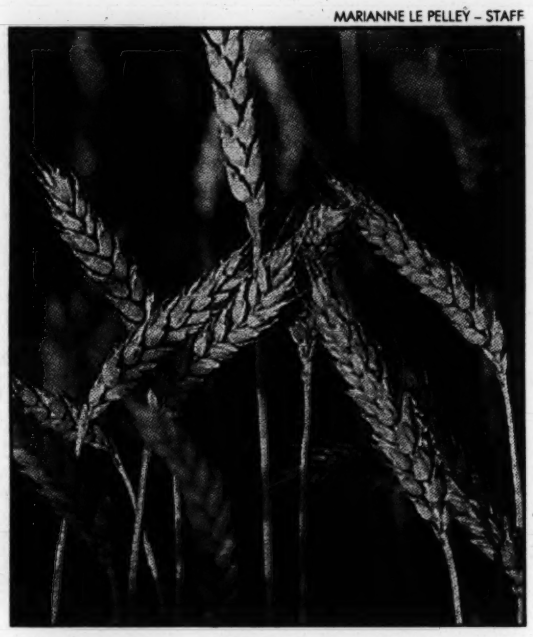
HABITAT

Great Plains Initiative's Twin Goals Aim at Regional Survival Strategies

The ecosystem management plan would unite a healthy environment with economic development

Scott Pendleton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
KANSAS CITY, MO.

MARIANNE LE PELLEY – STAFF



GOLDEN GRAIN: *Missouri wheat field symbolizes the bounty of the North American breadbasket.*

WHOOPING cranes, spotted owls, and the Poppers were on Mike Hayden's mind in 1989 as he pondered spending $20 million to preserve waterfowl habitat in Kansas, where he was governor. The result of his musings is shaping up to be the most ambitious ecosystem management effort ever undertaken.

The Great Plains Initiative aims to unite a healthy environment with economic development. It's ironic, but the arid landscape that became North America's breadbasket with a surplus bounty for export sustains ever-decreasing numbers of people. Developing an ecotourism industry or subsidizing nature-preservation activities may offer the best hope of survival for marginally viable towns across the tri-national target area.

As governor of a plains state, Mr. Hayden was concerned about destruction of bird habitat, the primary reason for the rapid decline of many indigenous species. Today, 26 birds and more than 300 plants and animals in the Great Plains are considered candidates for listing as endangered by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

Looking to the Pacific Northwest, Hayden saw the collision between the timber industry and efforts to preserve the old-growth forest habitat of the endangered spotted owl. Warning signs that this "train wreck" was coming had been ignored for a decade, Hayden says.

In the Northeast, he recalled Rutgers University professors Frank and Deborah Popper, whose 1987 proposal to create a "Buffalo Commons" out of uneconomical farm and ranch land from North Dakota to Texas had underscored the plight of dwindling rural communities. Initially critical of the undiplomatic outsiders, Hayden says he recognized in their "startling" statistics what plains inhabitants could see but refused to acknowledge.

Hayden says he dared not ignore those "very real" trends. Suppose "another spotted owl" were to come along in Kansas, subjecting already struggling farmers and ranchers to the hardships borne by the Northwest's timber industry? That, he says, could be "the straw that broke the camel's back" for many towns.

Yet no conservation effort by Kansas alone, he realized, would guarantee survival of a migratory species like the whooping crane. Millions of birds pass through the state in their annual journey along the central flyway, a north-south transcontinental corridor. Other states and countries in the flyway were preserving critical habitat, he knew, but without overall coordination.

Hayden concluded that a management plan was needed that would take into account the entire Great Plains ecosystem, a region extending from Mexico into Canada and bounded on the west by the Rockies. (The eastern boundary of the plains is problematic. Some scientists favor the 94th, 97th, 98th, or 100th meridian; others the 20-inch or 25-inch precipitation line; the 1,500-foot elevation contour; the former extents of the short-grass or tall-grass prairies; or even I-35.)

He foresaw jurisdictions, agencies, environmentalists, scientists, and citizens coming together for proactive, voluntary, grassroots problem-solving. The initiative would aggregate data from hundreds of sources for the first time into a grand model of the Great Plains ecosystem.

Efforts would focus on the "weak links" in the chain, in whichever jurisdiction those might be. Otherwise, habitat destruction thousands of miles from Kansas might trigger a species listing applicable everywhere, with the attendant economic disruption and loss of local control.

Over the next two years, Hayden took the concept to the Western Governors Association (WGA), which in June 1992 adopted it as the Great Plains Initiative. By then Hayden had moved to the Fish and Wildlife Service, where he was able to grant $200,000 to the WGA to get the initiative moving.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) added another $500,000 to collect essential data and to survey public attitudes. Under one EPA grant, The Nature Conservancy has begun to map critical threatened habitat within the plains. A second grant went to Iowa State University's Center for Agricultural and Rural Development (CARD).

Last month in Kansas City, CARD convened scientists, officials, and "stakeholders" like farmers and landowners from plains states to explore common ground for action. The WGA, which cooperates closely with the governors of Mexican states and Canadian provinces, will hear the symposium results at its June annual meeting in Tucson, Ariz.

In Kansas City, two points of agreement were clear: something must be done soon, and the ecosystem approach is the right one. As Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt testified to Congress: "Our national biodiversity resources will be conserved most effectively by means that recognize the interrelations of natural systems and look at the whole picture, which is far more than the sum of individual parts."

"It is right to deal with crises involving individual species," Mr. Babbitt continued, "but we should not manage our lands and resources so that we either consciously or unwittingly produce and then must react to an endless progression of crises."

He could hardly have stated more precisely humanity's history of meddling with the Great Plains. The Poppers refer to a century and a half of white settlement as "the largest, longest-running agricultural and environmental miscalculation in American history." But that is only the most recent chapter of the long and difficult history of the plains.

"No part of the continent invites such easy human environmental alteration, yet can collapse so quickly and completely under that wooing as the Great Plains," notes Dan Flores, a historian at the University of Montana.

Since the last ice age ended 12,000 years ago, humans have repeatedly inhabited and abandoned the drought-prone plains in a pattern of "ecological crashes and simplifications," Mr. Flores says.

The first whites to emerge from the lush and majestic woodlands of Appalachia viewed the featureless prairie as deficient not only in resources but also in aesthetics. On maps it was marked as "The Great American Desert." In 1831, explorer Albert Pike praised the region in backhanded terms: "Its sublimity arises from its barren monotony and desolation...."

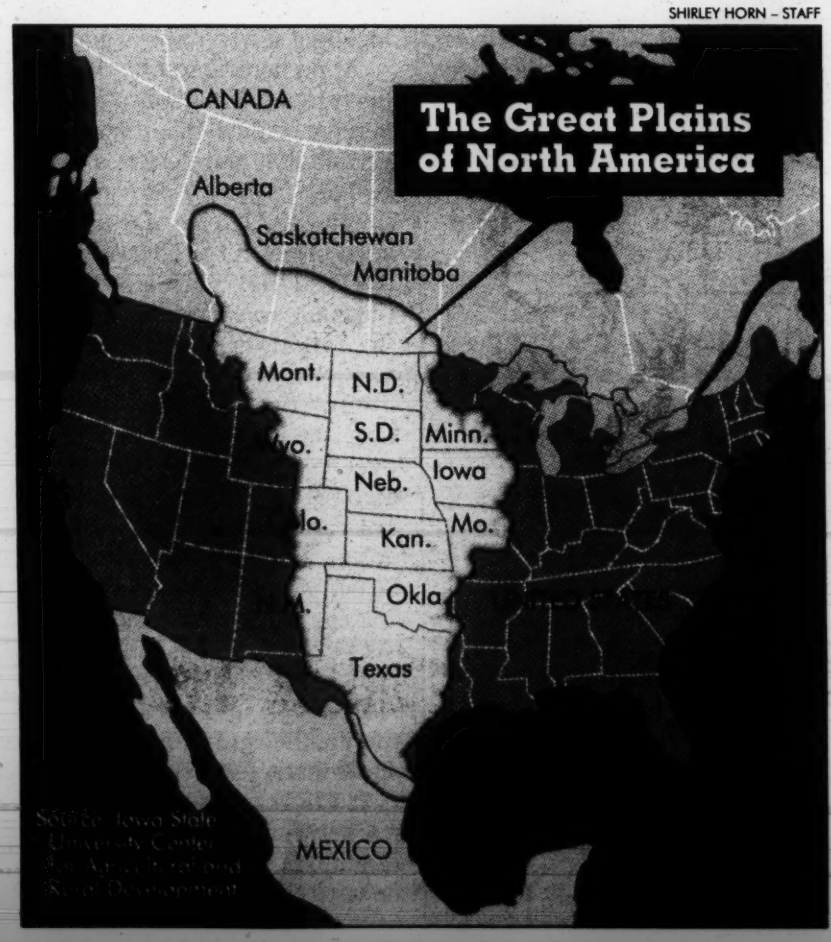
This viewpoint found its way into popular fiction from "Giants in the Earth" to "The Wizard of Oz": "When Dorothy stood in the doorway and looked around, she could see nothing but the great gray prairie on every side. Not a tree nor a house broke the broad sweep of flat country that reached the edge of the sky in all directions."

The lack of enthusiasm for the land in its natural state accounts for the fact that far less has been set aside for public parks than elsewhere in the US. In turn, that makes the cooperation of private landowners all the more essential to the Great Plains Initiative.

With cow and plow, whites began to settle the plains by 1840 at the urging of railroad advertisements depicting an agricultural paradise. The settlers disrupted the natural cycles of floods and prairie fires. They pushed aside the indigenous people along with the grizzly bear, the buffalo, the wolf, and the prairie dog. In a land that ancient inhabitants had called "the horizontal yellow," native grasses disappeared before amber waves of grain.

The result was the ranching collapse of the 1880s and the Dust Bowl of the 1930s. New technology and practices have replaced

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF

BEEF CATTLE: *Storm clouds gather over grazing animals in White River, N.D. (above). Rancher Scott Astleford (left) closes his pasture gate. Ranches like this are part of the Great Plains ecosystem, which extends from Canada through the middle of the United States into Mexico.*

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failed ones, but Flores questions whether the innovations truly adapt to the dictates of the plains or in fact postpone that adjustment.

For instance, taking water from underground aquifers has increased the human carrying capacity of the plains to 20 times the level seen when the Comanche Indians roamed there, Flores says. But depletion of the Ogallala (N.D.) aquifer is already curtailing irrigation. The economic life expectancy of the Ogallala is no more than 50 years, and possibly as little as 20. Says Flores: "I see far fewer of us living here a century from now."

The latest round of abandonment has long been underway. Out of 870 counties in the US portion of the Great Plains, only 100 are growing. Fully two-thirds peaked before World War II. A majority of the people who leave are young adults whose children would have offset natural decline, notes Richard Rathge, director of the North Dakota State Census Data Center.

"The plains don't need abandonment, they just need a second source of income that's not agriculturally dependent," says Robert Sopuck, executive director of the Sustainable Development Coordination Unit for the Province of Manitoba, Canada.

He cites the example of Linton, N.D. When an out-of-state travel agency decided to help the community by relocating some of its data-processing operation there, the experiment worked so well that the company is now Linton's largest employer. The agency's president describes the townspeople as "well-educated, dependable ... with superior skills and an old-fashioned Puritan work ethic."

Margaret Thomas, a senior resource planner with the Midwest Research Institute, says that "Possibly the greatest hurdle before us will be confronting the reality that increased 'growth' is no longer a sufficient goal for our society."

"Our goal," she adds, "needs to be an improvement in human progress, an articulation of deeper values, and a greater commitment to improving the long-term quality of life in an area." Ms. Thomas calls for "rural enterprises that are based on stewardship rather than consumptive use of resources."

That would be the ideal way to achieve the twin goals of the Great Plains Initiative. But if conservation can't be made profitable, should landowners be forced or subsidized to do it? Rural residents need to accept that their private landscapes support public resources like water and wildlife, Mr. Sopuck says. But urban dwellers must realize that biodiversity is a public resource supported at private expense.

"Public goods, to date, have not paid their way," Sopuck says. "There are currently no markets for aquifer recharge, biodiversity, water management, duck production, or water quality. Somehow, we must create transactions in these public environmental resources if they are to have value."

TELEVISION

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ **THURSDAY**

Cheers *(NBC, 9:30-11 p.m.)*: In the mother of all sitcom finales, TV's longest-running current comedy offers its last episode – expanded to 90 minutes and attended by enough hype to make you wonder if the ending has become bigger than the show that's ending (See related story, right). Shelley Long has been brought back to reprise her Emmy-Award-winning role as Diane Chambers, and the final seven minutes of the show was filmed without a studio audience so final plot twists could be kept secret until air time. NBC is charging $650,000 for a 30-second spot during the final episode, and local NBC affiliates are cashing in with call-in contests and other promotional devices. In Sacramento, Calif., for instance, both a "Cheers" look-alike and a "The Sam Malone Dating Game" contest were announced, as well as a "Carla Lozupone Tortelli Le Bec" insult competition. Columbia House is selling a home video series called "Cheers: the Collector's Edition." The program airing on NBC just before the final "Cheers" is being touted as a "pre-game" show, as if in recognition of the fact the whole occasion has become an event rather than just a drama. The same evening, the "Tonight" show will air live from the Bull & Finch Pub in Boston, the tavern that inspired the "Cheers" format.

The irony, of course, is that the literate series at the center of attention does deserves accolades. Its insight and deceptive lightness of touch are refreshing anomalies in a TV universe where success is usually gained in cruder and far less skillful strokes. But what's happening here is a bit much.

Cheers: Triumph and Tragedy *(Comedy Central, 11-11:30 p.m., E.T.)*: This cable channel likes to capitalize on the "Cheers" brand of excess by taking such high-profile events and refracting them through its own comic prism. By holding a funny-house mirror up to inflated occasions, the channel lets viewers know when it thinks the juggernaut is out of control, and the "Cheers" finale provides perfect fodder. This spoof offers a "post-game analysis" scheduled, the channel says, "in a shameless effort to clamber aboard the 'Cheers' publicity bandwagon."

PAUL DRINKWATER

'CHEERS': *Sam (Ted Danson), Carla (right, Rhea Perlman), and Diane (Shelley Long) with patrons in the last episode. 'It's ... a graduation-day ceremony,' says TV consultant Michael Dann about such series finales.*

Grand Finale Now a Must For a Popular TV Series

Departing shows that get big sendoffs gain notice – and high ratings

By Elizabeth Levitan Spaid
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

WILL Sam and Diane rekindle their old flame? Will Rebecca's new romance blossom? What will happen to Carla, Woody, and the rest of the quirky cast of characters who say goodbye this Thursday night on NBC's "Cheers"?

Those are the TV questions of the week that will be answered in a 98-minute final fling of the popular 11-year series that will feature actor Tom Berenger, Chicago Bears coach Mike Ditka, and model Kim Alexis.

Although "Cheers" has attracted the most publicity – a host of newspapers and magazines has already paid it tribute – it isn't the only long-running show to end this season. Like a drawn-out display of fireworks, the past two weeks have marked the end of four other series – "Quantum Leap," "The Wonder Years," "Knots Landing," and "A Different World." The seven-year series "Designing Women" is also scheduled to go off the air this month with some degree of pomp and circumstance.

Ending shows with grand finales is not a new phenomenon, says Ron Simon, TV curator at the Museum of Television and Radio in New York City, "but I think it's something [networks] are going to market much more than they have in the past. It's really a way to create event programming."

Indeed, the final episodes of "Knots Landing" and now "Cheers," have taken on a Superbowl flavor. The last edition of "Knots Landing" was preceded by a three-hour "block party," in which stars recalled favorite shows. Before "Cheers," Bob Costas talks with the cast for 22 minutes in the same sort of sum-it-up fashion (Costas' pre-"Cheers" show starts at 9 p.m.; "Cheers" begins at 9:22).

'I think what you're seeing now is the idea of giving long-running shows the opportunity to bring it to a natural conclusion.'

– Robert Batscha, president, Museum of Television and Radio

"The TV audience in the case of finales has a very intense loyalty to see everybody perform for the last time," says Michael Dann, an ABC consultant and a former head programmer at CBS and NBC.

"It's very much of a graduation-day ceremony in which there's an awful lot of sentiment involved, and people just love to identify with these situations," he says. "No major show will ever go off the air in the future without this kind of event."

Robert Batscha, president of the Museum of Television and Radio, concurs. "A couple of years ago, there were a couple of long-running shows that were just canceled, and one of the great laments of the producers was they weren't given the opportunity to bring the show to a conclusion," he says.

"I think what you're seeing now is the idea of giving long-running shows the opportunity to bring it to a natural conclusion."

Bonanza endings also serve as a reward to the actors, he adds. "The 'Cheers' people have lived together for many years," he says. "It's been their daily life for probably professionally as long as many of them can remember and to have it end not only thematically but emotionally is very important for them."

The first show to air a finale was "The Fugitive" in 1967. That two-part ending "probably got the highest rating of any dramatic show that year and made people very conscious" of the high ratings potential for such resolutions, Mr. Dann says.

Other shows followed suit, including "The Mary Tyler Moore Show," "M.A.S.H.," "Gilligan's Island," "Dallas," and "The Cosby Show." When shows aren't being terminated for financial or casting reasons, finales are "a good way to get a lot of attention and publicity," Mr. Batscha says. "And these days the networks are interested in the loyalty of the creative community, and this is a nice way of making them feel good."

TV'S MEMORABLE PAST FINALES

BOSTON

A number of TV shows have captivated and surprised audiences with their finales. Here's a sampling:

■ "The Fugitive": This adventure series, which started in September 1963, starred David Janssen as Dr. Richard Kimble. Kimble, a man who was wrongly convicted of killing his wife and sentenced to death, escaped from a train on his way to prison. He spent the next four years searching for the one-armed man who he believed murdered his wife. During this time he was pursued by the show's other character, a detective named Philip Gerard. In a two-part finale in August 1967, Kimble surrendered after learning the one-armed man had been captured. But the one-armed man escaped and was later shot by Gerard.

■ "M.A.S.H.": The popular 11-year show focused on life at a mobile Army surgical hospital a few miles from the front in wartime Korea. In 1983, the show ended with a two-and-a-half-hour finale that was the most widely watched TV programs of all time. In it, the surgeons, nurses, and support crew folded their tents and shipped out for other roles.

■ "Newhart": In this series that began in 1982, comedian Bob Newhart starred as Dick Loudon, an author of "how-to" books who moves to a Vermont village with his wife and becomes an innkeeper. The last show, in 1990, "became the classic, ironic finale which was sort of a play off 'Dallas,' " explains Ron Simon, curator for the Museum of Television and Radio in New York City. Japonese businessmen buy the Vermont town and use it to build a large golf course. But Loudon refuses to sell, and his inn ends up in the middle of the golf course. Five years later, when townspeople who had sold out to the Japanese return for a reunion, Loudon walks outside, is hit by a golf ball, and falls to the ground. In the next scene, he wakes up in bed as Chicago psychotherapist Bob Hartley, the character he played from 1972-78 on "The Bob Newhart Show." With him is his wife from that show, Emily, played by Suzanne Pleshette. He tells her he has had a terrible dream – the entire run of the "Newhart" series.

– E. L. S.

'Spider Woman' Juxtaposes Music and Misery

By Frank Scheck
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

THEATER

KISS OF THE SPIDER WOMAN – THE MUSICAL
Directed by Harold Prince.
Music by John Kander
and lyrics by Fred Ebb.
At the Broadhurst Theatre.

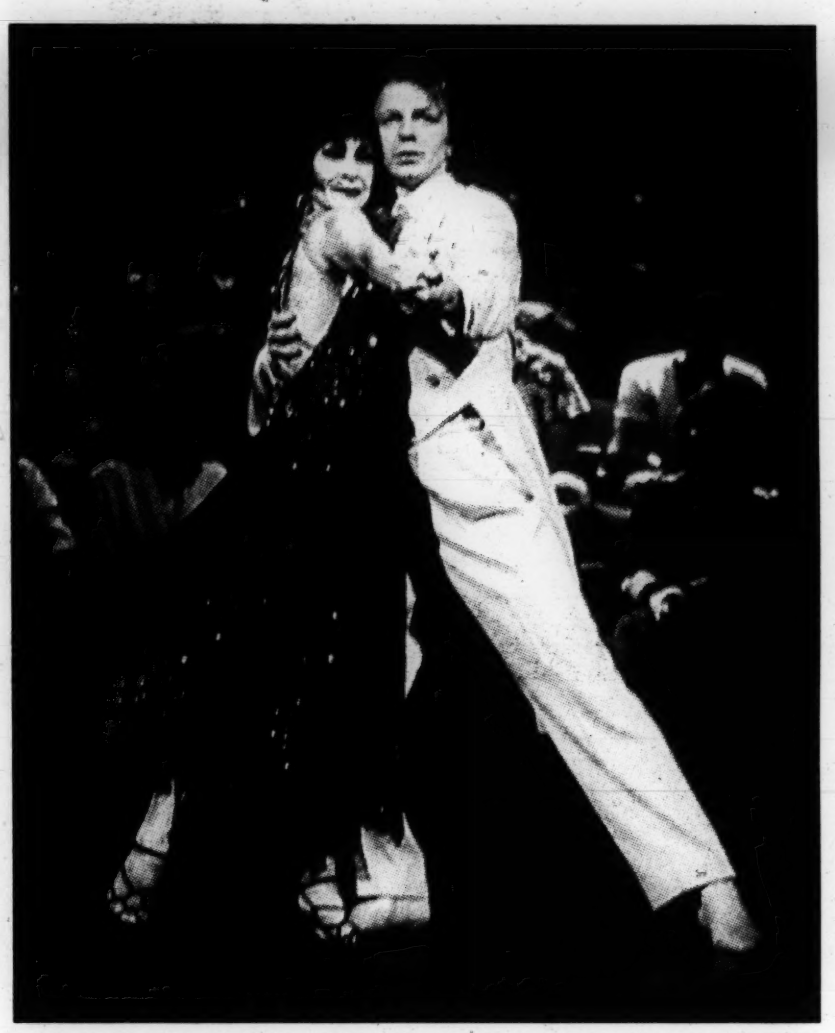
YOU can't ask for more impressive credentials in a new Broadway musical than the ones in "Kiss of the Spider Woman." The score is by John Kander and Fred Ebb, responsible for, among other shows, "Cabaret," "Zorba," and "Chicago." The director is Hal Prince, who has directed so many important shows that there isn't space to list them. The book is by playwright Terrence McNally ('Lips Together, Teeth Apart," and "Frankie and Johnny in the Clair de Lune"), and the star is Tony Award-winner Chita Rivera. It is based on an Oscar-winning film, which in turn was based on an acclaimed novel by Argentine writer Manuel Puig.

So why are the results at the Broadhurst Theatre so misbegotten? The obvious answer would be that the idea of making a Broadway musical from a harrowing tale of political persecution and torture is wrongheaded. But successful musicals have often been made from unlikely subjects; Kander and Ebb's "Cabaret," which dealt with the rise of Nazism in Germany is among them.

It is easy to see how the creators thought this musical could work. The story concerns the relationship between two cellmates in a Latin American prison. Valentina (Anthony Crivello) is a political dissident under torture to reveal secrets about his underground network. Molina (Brent Carver) is a homosexual window dresser imprisoned for his "deviant behavior." At first there is an animosity between the two men; Valentina is offended by Molina's flaunting of his sexuality. But the two men soon discover a bond in their mutual pain, which for Molina is relieved by an elaborate fantasy life involving Aurora (Rivera), a movie star whose alter-ego is the menacing (but ultimately liberating) Spider Woman.

On film, the fantasy sequences involving Aurora had a restrained and stylized quality that provided an ironic counterpoint to the suffering endured by the two prisoners. For the stage, these scenes have been conceived as elaborate musical production numbers that create a schizophrenic quality.

The audience endures harsh scenes of torture and then is treated to Rivera, in elaborate costumes designed by Florence Klotz, cavorting about the stage. The counterpoint between realistic scenes of horror and glitzy song-and-dance is not adequately conveyed. The suffering of the prisoners is reduced to a series of song cues.



MAKE-BELIEVE TANGO: *Molina (Brent Carver) in a fantasy dance scene with the mysterious Spider Woman (Chita Rivera).*

The disappointment is doubly acute because of the high quality of the staging, the production, and the performances. Director Prince, with the aid of Jerome Sirlin's scenic design and projections, creates a series of memorable stage tableaux and the musical numbers have a verve and panache that would be more effective in a straightforward musical.

Sirlin's simple but visually striking sets are equally effective in conveying the cramped confines of the prison cell, the more expansive views of the prison, or the period musical numbers.

Kander has written some of his best music in years for the score. The jaunty "Where You Are" is reminiscent of some of the best music for "Cabaret"; "Good Times" could become a staple, and "The Day After That" is the type of anthem that the score for "Les Misérables" could use. Ebb's lyrics are at best serviceable, and some of the music is merely filler, but all-in-all it is an accomplished Broadway score.

McNally's distinctive dramatic voice rarely shines through in the book, which too often resorts to dramatic clichés in its by-the-numbers portrait of the brutal prison officials and the growing relationship between the two prisoners.

Brent Carver and Anthony Crivello deliver powerful performances; Carver is particularly strong as Molina, conveying the window dresser's steely strength as well as his surface flightiness. Rivera, who overcame an injury that could have ended her dancing, sings and dances with a vigor that proves she is still every inch a Broadway musical star. She almost, but not quite, makes us believe in the material.

'Lost in Yonkers' Comes to Film, and Loses Its Bearings

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

FILM

"LOST in Yonkers" is one of Neil Simon's childhood stories. The time is the early 1940s, the place is metropolitan New York, and two of the main characters are kids – bright, brash youngsters apparently modeled on Mr. Simon in his early years.

Their names are Jay and Arty, and they're surrounded by enough eccentric grown-ups to supply a future playwright with a lifetime of material. Dad is a wistful widower in debt to a loan shark. Grandma is a German-born dowager who survived the Nazi horrors by permanently turning off her emotions. Uncle Louie looks like a gangster, but we know that deep down he's – well, a gangster, but a relatively harmless one.

And then there's Aunt Bella, the *really* odd duck of the family: pretty, energetic, and afflicted with a mental disability that makes her all the more lovable yet hinders her ability to fend for herself. Her running feud with Grandma is the stuff of local legend. But nobody knows whether she'll cut the apron strings and carve out an independent life.

The movie adaptation of "Lost in Yonkers," which won Simon a Pulitzer Prize in its Broadway version, is at its best when it focuses on Jay and Arty and their impressions of family life. Martha Coolidge, who directed the picture, amusingly captures the blend of magic and uneasiness that an unfamiliar setting – and a crowd of unfamiliar housemates – can have for youngsters who are smart enough to cope with new surroundings, but not mature enough to be sure they're doing it right.

Unfortunately, the movie goes terribly wrong when Simon cranks himself up to be Serious about Major Emotional Issues, which happens in the second half of the story.

Simon is an able comic writer, and when thoughtfulness or sentiment grow naturally from the situation and characters he's developing – as in "The Sunshine Boys," probably his best movie ever – the result is genuinely touching as well as entertaining. But when he forces the issue, tackling a subject that's too weighty and complex for his brand of comedy, the outcome can be mighty distressing.

That's what happens in "Lost in Yonkers," which turns out to be the story not of Jay and Arty, but of Aunt Bella's struggle to become a grown-up despite the expectations of everlasting childhood that her family has settled on her. This is an absorbing subject, and Bella is a fascinating person to embody it. But two problems arise in Simon's treatment.

First, he spends an hour developing Bella as an endearing but incompetent woman who can literally forget to walk through her own doorway when she arrives at home. Yet in the movie's later scenes, she starts addressing her household with speeches that couldn't be more eloquent if *she* were a prize-winning playwright. Perhaps we're meant to think her passionate feelings have unlocked new capacities in her mind and spirit; but Simon doesn't suggest this, much less explain it.

In a further miscalculation that's still more damaging, Simon fails to follow through on these emotional fireworks. The highest point of Bella's struggle is interrupted by an incredibly stupid scene involving Uncle Louie and a stolen car; and the outcome of her dilemma is wrapped in a goopy layer of all's-well-that-ends-well sentimentality, which denies the seriousness of everything we've just been watching. It's meant to have a fashionable feel-good effect, but it's false and superficial.

Mercedes Ruehl fails to make Bella fully real despite a vigorous and sincere performance, providing final proof that Simon has done a poor job of constructing this character. Among the rest of the cast, Irene Worth has powerful moments as Grandma, and Brad Stoll and Mike Damus are solid as the youngsters of the story.

Richard Dreyfuss is amusing as Uncle Louie, although his role is more cute than convincing. David Strathairn is excellent as Bella's sadly inadequate boyfriend. Most of the supporting players are capable, except Susan Merson, who's saddled with a ghastly role (an aunt with breathing problems) that would defeat anyone.

Simon wrote the screenplay, and Johnny Jensen – who collaborated with Ms. Coolidge on "Rambling Rose," her previous picture – did the fetching cinematography.

■ *"Lost in Yonkers" has been rated PG for some of its thematic elements and mildly vulgar language.*

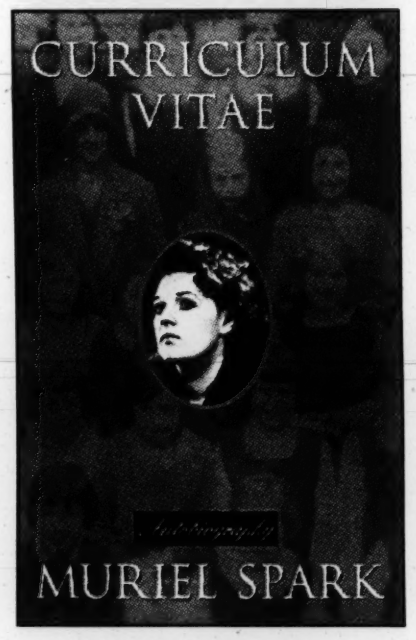
Author Fails to Tell All In Her Bare-Bones Bio

By Merle Rubin

LONG before Britain's current crop of punk-inspired *enfants terribles* were writing anything more shocking than accounts of how they spent their summer vacations, the prim-and-proper, dauntingly ladylike Muriel Spark was tastefully spinning tales of hidden perversity and unexpected violence. Spark's elegantly spare style and cool, witty voice were perfect foils to her often creepy themes.

Born Muriel Camberg in Edinburgh of Scottish and English, Jewish and Protestant descent, Spark has generally been reticent about her private life, but readers who've enjoyed her fictional portraits of Edinburgh school days and life on the fringes of London's literary world may well feel they've come to know something of their author.

BOOKS



CURRICULUM VITAE: AUTOBIOGRAPHY
By Muriel Spark
Houghton Mifflin
213 pp., $22.95

Now Spark has written what seems intended as the first volume of her autobiography, covering the period from her birth in 1918 to the publication of her first novel, "The Comforters," in 1957. Yet readers in search of deeper insights into her character or merely more details about her life are likely to be disappointed. The title proves an all-too-apt description of the bare-bones, neatly modular contents – except that this particular "curriculum vitae" is not quite the straightforward, businesslike summary of facts it first seems to be.

From the outset, Spark emphasizes the importance of facts and her ability to document them. "I felt it time to put the record straight," she announces in her introduction. "I determined to write nothing that cannot be supported by documentary evidence or by eyewitnesses." She rightly points out that erroneous stories that find their way into print take on a life of their own. But, as the reader proceeds through this eminently verifiable life-history, a rather different kind of disingenuousness makes itself felt, a kind of falsification by omission.

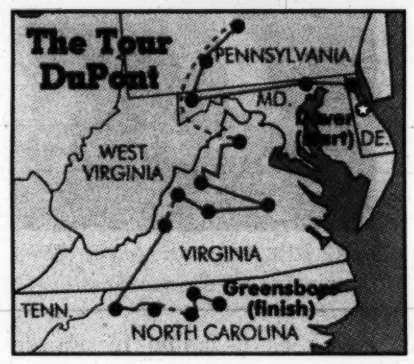
It seems innocent enough to start with, as Spark portrays her early childhood by recalling three vital commodities: "Bread," "Butter," and "Tea." "Bread" lists the kinds of loaves available from the local bakery; "Butter" offers a charming tour of the gleaming dairy-store; "Tea," regulation instructions for preparing a cup. Things perk up when little Muriel goes to school. There she has the good fortune to be taught by Christina Kay, who would serve as the inspiration for "The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie" (1961). The real Miss Kay seems to have been free from the darker qualities that Spark gave to the fictional Miss Brodie, an interesting example of Spark's gift for locating in the ordinary the potential for the bizarre.

As the story proceeds into Spark's adulthood, the tone grows increasingly defensive. While there is nothing wrong with trying to set the record straight, especially when fallacious versions of one's past have been circulating, Spark devotes what seems a disproportionate amount of space to rehashing minor disputes. But, unlike the author of "Loitering with Intent" (1981), who transformed literary squabbles and office politics into delectably malicious comedy, autobiographer Spark is short on charm and thin on significant detail. The tone of moral self-righteousness that was ironic and funny in the mouths of her fictional narrators sounds more like plain old self-righteousness here.

Spark is a disciplined writer who started out as a poet. She had a joyful childhood, some difficult love relationships, and a hard, though exhilarating, time working to establish herself. She grappled with issues of religion (converting to Roman Catholicism in the 1950s) and experienced moments of epiphany. But few of these concerns are explored in this book, making it something of a missed opportunity.

■ *Merle Rubin regularly reviews literature and contemporary fiction for the Monitor.*

GARY NEWKIRK/ALLSPORT



Mexican Rider Wins Bicycle Race

Raul Alcala took the 1,085-mile Tour DuPont Sunday, beating second-place Lance Armstrong of Texas by 2 minutes, 26 seconds overall. Alcala, three times a top-10 finisher in the Tour de France and a professional racer for nine years, was the favorite. He won the race in 1990. His prize for the 11-day race: $40,000 – and a new car.

NCAA's Leadership Changes

IN stepping down as executive director of the National Collegiate Athletic Association last week, Dick Schultz became a sacrifical lamb on the altar of big-time college sports.

After it surfaced that he was athletic director of the University of Virginia when improper interest-free loans were made to some athletes, Schultz's ability to spearhead national reform was undermined.

Though a popular leader, Schultz resigned despite what some viewed as tenuous connections to minor infractions. "I was really concerned that if I stayed on, there was a risk this could damage the credibility of the NCAA," he said, even while denying any guilt.

The infractions occurred on Schultz's watch, though, so regardless of whether he knew of them or not, he had to assume some responsibility

Schultz has agreed to stay on until a successor is found. One person mentioned as a candidate is Judy Sweet, who just completed an elected term as president of the NCAA. She is the athletic director at the University of California, San Diego, a Division III (small) school.

SPORTS NOTEBOOK

Baseball TV plan rankles some

"Baseball giveth, so it had better not take away," perhaps best summarizes criticism of a new plan for major-league TV coverage. Significantly, some flak came from Congress, which expects baseball to act in the public's interest in exchange for the game's antitrust exemption.

Certainly, providing limited national coverage of the league championship series would not be in the interest of serious fans accustomed to seeing every pitch of every game.

The idea that some playoff games would be played simultaneously and televised regionally in a joint venture with ABC and NBC flies in the face of current viewer expectations. Some observers suspect the format could lead to pay-per-view options for those cut off from network coverage. An NBC official, however, says the plan saves playoff games from being switched to cable because of falling ratings.

Complicating baseball's decision was an 11th-hour bid by CBS this weekend to get back into the negotiations with a two-year deal. Stay tuned.

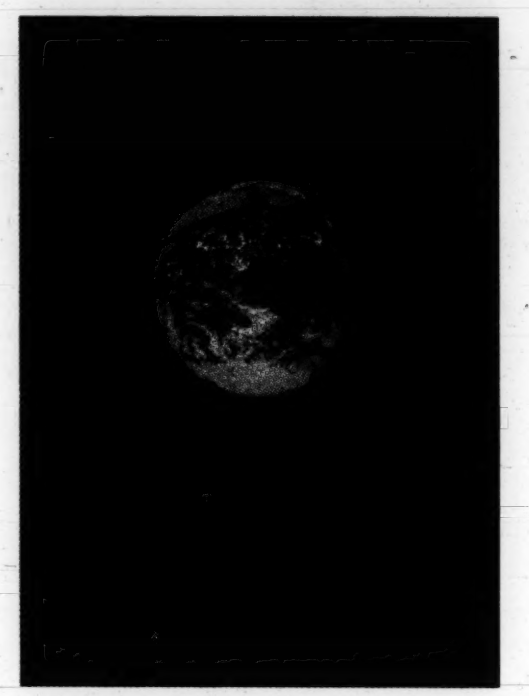
Cash incentives for Olympians

Winning Olympic medals may soon come with a direct financial sweetener for American athletes. In descending order, gold, silver, and bronze medalists would receive $15,000, $10,000, and $7,500 under a plan announced by the United States Olympic Committee last week. The plan, which is similar to those of other countries, is expected to receive formal approval at a board of directors meeting in June.

The payments are designed to encourage outstanding performances and make it easier for athletes of fewer means to stay in training. Those who already make large sums professionally, such as basketball and tennis players, probably will be asked to donate their bonuses to sports development programs. Current eligibility rules prevent college athletes from accepting money.

– Ross Atkin

Honestly, we're just a community newspaper.



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The Home Forum.

ILLUSTRATION BY BRIAN LIES

Max's Midnight Adventures

IN the sudden June heat that always surprised him after a long Maine winter, Max trudged up the hill along old Mary Wicker's property toward home. An unexpected breeze lifted the leaves of a nearby euonymus bush that grew on the great gray trunk of a beech tree. The cool green-blue leaves sailed on the dusty air just long enough for something underneath to catch Max's eye. Surrounded by the afternoon's stillness, it seemed to him that the branch had moved on purpose, to show him something. Puzzled, he edged toward the bush and carefully raised the branch.

There it was – an old metal mailbox. Rust had worked delicate holes in the top. It had been attached to the tree for so long that layers of smooth gray bark had grown around it. Its bent door probably hadn't been opened for ages. Digging his fingernails around the edges, Max pried until the door gave enough for him to fit his hand in to force it open.

Two moths fluttered out, leaving behind a pile of rotting leaves and dirt. *Maybe nests for something*, thought Max. On top of the litter sat a piece of dingy white cardboard. Gently pulling it out, he recognized its familiar feel immediately – an old baseball card. But he couldn't make out the picture or the famous name printed below it. After a moment's hesitation, he slipped the musty card into his T-shirt pocket.

Max did not think again of the mailbox or the baseball card until he passed by the beech tree the next day. He reached behind the euonymous bush and opened the mailbox for the same reason he opened the refrigerator nearly every time he passed by it, looking for nothing in particular.

F-F-F-F-TTT W-h-u-h, whuh wh, wh, wh. Max jerked out of a dead sleep. Something was flitting and scudding above his head.

As he peered in, he was surprised to see a worn baseball. The stitching was ragged, and as he weighed the ball in his palm and stretched his fingers around it, it had the same feel as one of his own baseballs that he'd used for a couple of years. He was about to shut the box when he suddenly realized that the ball had not been there with the baseball card the day before. He looked around. Someone had put these things here. They were gifts.

He felt guilty now, just closing up the mailbox again as he had the previous day. Searching his pockets, he found his new Star Trek click pencil; in his backpack were half of a chocolate cupcake and a beat-up tennis ball he used for street hockey. After some deliberation, he decided to leave the pencil.

The next day, during odd moments, he wondered about the mailbox. After school he raced up the hill, lifted the euonymus branch, tugged open the mailbox, and peered inside. The pencil was gone. In its place was a yellowed, heavy-paper envelope with a fancy deckled edge. Inside rested a curled lock of fine, strawberry-blond hair. Beside it was a note:

I'm nobody! Who are you?
Are you – Nobody – Too?
Then there's a pair of us!

Tracing his forefinger along the length of sunlit hair, Max calmly – even happily – accepted that he'd been trading with a girl.

He recognized the "nobody" poem from last year's language-arts class. *Stephy O'Riley was in that class*, he thought. *No, her hair is too dark.* Then he dropped his backpack and rummaged around until he found the poem Mrs. Allen assigned to memorize that week. He hadn't read it yet, but somehow a poem seemed appropriate and this was all he had. So, folding it neatly in half, he placed it on the nest of leaves, shut the door, and headed home with thoughts of possible girls.

"Ciao, Max!" It was his neighbor Mr. Rosiello waving from Max's porch. Startled, Max looked up and found himself already in his yard. "Just wanted to remind you – full moon tonight – should be the night for turtles," Mr. Rosiello called.

Max had nearly forgotten. This was one midnight outing he was looking forward to. He'd begged Mr. Rosiello to show him where the turtles nested down by the river. Mr. Rosiello was waiting for the "turtle moon."

That night Max went to bed early to get a few winks before Mr. Rosiello whistled for him from the back yard.

* * * *

F-F-F-F-TTT W-h-u-h, whuh wh, wh, wh. Max jerked out of a dead sleep.

Something was flitting and scudding above his head. *A bird?* It darted by again, sounding like a toy helicopter. *Too small to be a bird.* Then an awful thought occurred to him: bats.

He had heard stories about bats getting into houses. As he yanked the covers over his head, frightful pictures from Mr. Whittle's science unit on exotic mammals played in his mind. He recalled the flying fox – a bat with a six-foot wingspan. *They live somewhere near the Indian Sea and southeast Asia*, Max thought as he frantically searched his faded memory for more details, *but do they ever migrate to America?* He couldn't remember. *No*, he tried to compose himself, *this is a little bat. Couldn't be a flying fox.*

But then, an even more chilling thought, *it could be a vampire bat.* As accurately as Max could remember, the vampire bats were small, like the one over his head. "These bats," he clearly remembered Mr. Whittle saying, "are only interested in blood – they sip the blood from cuts on cattle and horses – mostly out west."

Just then he heard Mr. Rosiello's whistle from the back yard. Desperate as he was for Mr. Rosiello's help, he couldn't consider making the dash to the window to tell him. Instead he lay frozen in his bed. Finally, after a few more whistles, he heard Mr. Rosiello creak open the back door and pad up the steps.

"Max!" Mr. Rosiello whispered, not accustomed to the dark. "*Venga*, Max! We'll miss the turtle

nesting. Max? Are you there?" From under the covers came Max's muffled voice: "Look out, Mr. Rosiello! There's a vampire bat in here. Maybe more than one. Maybe a whole flock!"

"*Come dice*?" Mr. Rosiello always lapsed into his native Italian when he was confused. "What are you saying, Max? Vampire bats don't live in Maine. Only little brown bats. They can't hurt you."

F-f-f-f-f-ttt! The bat buzzed by Mr. Rosiello. "*Si*, that's what we have here. *Buono*. We skip the turtles, heh? Tonight we do bats."

"No way, Mr. Rosiello. I just wanna get out of here!" cried Max in genuine terror.

"Na, na. Wait a minute. All we need is Betty's bat nets. You stay here, I'll be right back."

Max bolted out of bed right behind Mr. Rosiello, nearly knocking him over at the doorway.

Fifteen minutes later, the two were back – each draped with nets the size of ladies' shawls. Max had every intention of simply assisting Mr. Rosiello from the hallway. Over and over, he watched the old man throw his net into empty air as the bat deftly escaped.

"What an acrobat!" laughed Max. "All those dips and turns, and sudden stops and reverses. Wish I could do that in soccer."

"You stand by the wall," whispered Mr. Rosiello, who was trying to balance himself on the bed. "We'll never catch him flying. Bat wings are like long fingers with silky-thin webs between. They just flick their fingers and change directions. And they have their own kind of radar that tells them where a single strand of hair is. Hah! We must seem like slow-moving mountains!" When the bat flew by Max, it took a dip and did a flip turn to hang on the wall upside down – which is right side up for bats.

"Now!" cried Mr. Rosiello.

Impulsively Max heaved his net against the wall. It plopped heavily to the floor. Mr. Rosiello and Max just stood there staring. Neither had really expected to catch the flying wizard.

"Now what?" asked Max, his eyes huge.

Mr. Rosiello scurried across the room. Carefully gathering up the corners of the net, he handed the prize to Max.

"No, no. You take it." Max waved his hands in the air.

"Max. There is nothing to fear. Just hold it out in front of you." He shoved the ball of net into Max's hands and strode out.

Max did not blink or talk all the way down the stairs. When he finally reached the last step, he whispered frantically, "Mr. Rosiello, *where* are we going?"

"To the bat nursery. In Betty's barn."

"*What?* That's a 10-minute walk! Let's just free him here."

"No. I think 'he' is probably a mother bat who belongs with one of the babies in the nursery. We've scared her. The least we can do is return her to where she belongs."

Two shadows moved under the still turtle moon: a man of long, easy strides with his bat net flapping around his shoulders and a boy of awkward, quick steps with his twitching net held way out in front.

When they reached Betty's three-story barn, Mr. Rosiello pointed up into the crevices between the upstairs floor boards. "See all the baby bats snuggled together? They're pink in the daylight. Right now the mamas are out hunting for mosquitoes and mayflies. They send out little clicks that echo back at them – they're too high-pitched for us to hear, kind of like dog whistles. When they swoop down on an insect the clicking goes so fast it's like a buzz. They can eat 600 mosquitoes in an hour."

"That's better than the bug-zapper," Max chirped.

"Hear their tiny squeaks?" Mr. Rosiello asked. "Each baby has a special voice the mother recognizes."

"Can I let her go now?" Max asked.

"Eh? Just a minute. This is a rare opportunity. You don't often get to see bats up close and still. See, she has little mouse ears. Try to think of her as a cute little mouse. She's not nearly as ugly as the horseshoe bat in Asia or the crested bat in Africa. They have faces that make dinosaurs look like beauty queens."

The bat was still for a few moments as Max peered down at her in a shaft of moonlight. Mr. Rosiello kept right on talking. "You should never pick up a bat," he warned. "But sometimes experts pick them up when they're hibernating. The first time I liked bats was when I visited a cave. Hundreds of 'em were hanging like moss from the stone ceilings. The guide plucked a little sleeping bat and put it in my hands. He didn't wake up. His fur was soft and fluffy, some of the nicest fur I've seen."

Then, Max stood safely behind the net and opened it.

The mother bat zigzagged up to the nursery.

On the way home, the moon floated low in the sky. "Sure was some turtle moon, huh, Mr. Rosiello?"

"Hah! Sure was," the old man echoed.

As the two shadows climbed the hill, Max noticed some movement up ahead near the beech tree. He and Mr. Rosiello stopped dead in their tracks.

"What's *that?*" asked Max. Focusing his eyes, he could see a small, bent person shuffle toward the tree and lift the euonymous branches.

"Hey," cried Max. But Mr. Rosiello hushed the boy's mouth with his hand and steered him behind some shrubs.

"Shh-hh, Max! That's old Mary Wicker. Don't disturb her."

"But, what's she doing?"

The two watched silently as the old woman opened the mailbox and pulled out a piece of paper that glowed white in the moonlight. She took something from her baggy coat pocket and placed it in the box. As she gathered the leaves back into place, she glanced around, then hobbled back through the trees. Max continued to stare vacantly at the beech.

"Max, are you OK? You shouldn't be afraid of old Mary Wicker."

"It's just that I expected someone else," he said sadly. Then after a moment, he added, "I've never seen Mary Wicker. Some kids said she's scary – her mouth is all twisted, and she talks weird."

"That's why she's a creature of the night," said Mr. Rosiello. "Even when she was a young girl, people were repulsed by her looks. But I remember one beautiful thing about her – she had long, curling, strawberry-blond hair."

After a minute, Mr. Rosiello stood up and stretched. "Shall we go home now?"

Later, as Max settled into bed, he thought about lonely Mary Wicker. Even in his disappointment, though, he was wondering what the old woman had left for him behind the leafy-green euonymous bush.

His thoughts drifted toward the mother bat. Mr. Rosiello had said that in China bats were thought of as a symbol of wisdom and good things to come. As Max fell into the arms of sleep, he wondered if that could be true in Hallowell, Maine, too.

Susan McBride Els

KIDSPACE

'Kidspace' is a place on The Home Forum pages where kids can find stories that will spark imaginations, entertain with a tall tale, explain how things work, or describe a real-life event. These articles appear twice a month, usually on Tuesdays.

When You're Afraid

(Written especially for young people)

PROBABLY everybody has been afraid sometime. When I'm scared, I pray. I know that if I turn to God, He will help me. How? Sometimes I just stop feeling scared and feel calm and peaceful instead. Sometimes I get an idea about what to do. Sometimes a scary situation just dissolves—people who were yelling and looked as though they might start fighting, suddenly cool off.

To me, the best explanation of how God protects us when we are afraid is in Psalm 91 in the Bible. The people in Bible times were just as troubled by violence as we are. This particular psalm talks about dangers that seem to be all around us, but it doesn't stop there—it promises us God's help. In one place it says, "There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling. For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways."

That's a pretty big promise. And if angels were material beings with feathers, it would be hard for them to keep track of everybody. But they aren't. Angels are ideas from God, messages from Him to us. God knows us as His children, so it's natural for Him to send us ideas that will help us and keep us safe. He's just being a good Father!

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

When you're afraid, and suddenly feel OK, it may be because you're feeling a message from God that says, "I love you." It's something you can count on because God's love never runs out. He just keeps loving you, your mom and dad, and everyone. He never gets angry at us. He never leaves us to struggle on our own. That means He'll help us even if we've done something stupid.

The first thing we need to do when we're scared is to pray to hear His angel messages. His thoughts, or angels, are always coming to us, but sometimes fear seems to keep us from listening to them. Prayer is a great way to listen because you can pray no matter where you are or what is going on around you. When you're going through the halls at school, having lunch, or sitting in class, you can pray to feel God's presence.

Prayer isn't a big speech, and it doesn't have to take a lot of time. My shortest prayer has been "Help!" Others have been longer. The main thing is to turn to God with your whole heart and mind and ask Him to help you. You don't even have to speak aloud. As Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered Christian Science, writes in her book called *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, "Thoughts unspoken are not unknown to the divine Mind."

The divine Mind is God. God isn't a big old bearded man looking down from a cloud. Instead, He is Spirit and He is everywhere. This means there isn't any place where His help can't reach you. Christ Jesus, who taught us that we are God's spiritual children, trusted God. And God never let him down.

Since God is Mind, He is totally intelligent. That means that the angels He sends to you aren't going to tell you to do something stupid. In fact, that same Psalm says of God's angels: "They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone." This shows just how deep God's love for us is, and how He takes care of every single detail if we let Him.

If you have to walk down a dark alley on the way home, you can pray to feel that God is there with you—because He is. If you need to go past some tough kids, you aren't alone, because God is with you. No matter why you feel scared or alone, God loves you and He won't leave you. And since He is everywhere, you can't leave Him. Right this minute He has messages of love that are meant just for you. He sends them to protect you.

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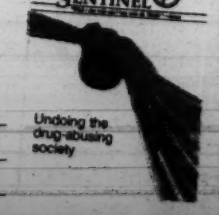

Undoing the drug-abusing society

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Search for Truth in Texas

THOSE facing the task of trying to ascertain the truth of what happened April 19, 1993, in the Branch Davidian fiasco near Waco, Texas, should not be hurried, harassed, or second-guessed as they go about their task.

At the same time, they owe it to those affected by the events and to the rest of us to meticulously and thoroughly sift through every bit of evidence they can find and deliver an exhaustive report. The hope is that such an investigation will produce insights that could prevent other such situations from developing.

But recent reports hint that the initial United States Department of Justice investigation might not be as thorough as many citizens and government officials deem justified.

In fact, Philip Heymann, nominated by President Clinton to be deputy US attorney general and who faces confirmation hearings in the Senate this week, already has made statements that make his task sound shallow or at best preliminary.

Surely Attorney General Janet Reno, who shouldered responsibility for approving the final assault on the cult compound, doesn't expect that act, gallant as it was, to relieve her of further responsibility in pursuing the the investigation. All the resources of the attorney general's office should be marshaled in the task of getting as close to the truth as possible – a goal that obviously will not be quickly fulfilled. The White House, Congress, and the public will expect findings and recommendations in at least two areas:

1. The attack on Feb. 28 by the US Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms on the Branch Davidian compound, in which four of the bureau's agents were killed – an event that has so far not been anywhere near satisfactorily explained or justified.

2. The storming and tear-gassing of the cult's stronghold, which resulted in a debacle the like of which Americans have seldom witnessed before on their own country's soil outside of outright war.

Attorney General Reno's declaration of responsibility at the time did much to calm public concern. It did not, however, satisfy the requirement for a thorough public explanation of the handling of these related events.

Americans applauded this first female US attorney general, whose combination of forthrightness and compassion already had made her a tremendously popular new figure in Washington. But personal candor is not enough. Now Reno must confirm her ability and toughness by seeing that this shocking event is fully explained and its lessons applied.

Space-Program Overhaul

ACTING under presidential orders, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is redesigning Space Station Freedom. But that's only fiddling at the edges of America's space challenge.

The United States needs to rethink its civilian space program, which has drifted without overall purpose since rivalry with the old Soviet Union ceased to be a dominant factor two decades ago.

Successive administrations have studied the issue. Visions of Manifest Destiny have colored often-cogent analyses of commissions and task forces. Scenarios that featured humans living in Earth orbit, inhabiting the moon, and exploring Mars have dominated the national debate. Neither Congress nor the American people took these scenarios seriously.

No single country could justify the cost of such ambitious projects. They would have to be done internationally. But the US has proved to be an unreliable collaborator. Its main partners – Canada, Europe, and Japan – are weary of unilateral cutbacks and redesigns. This has left the US with an ill-defined program burdened by big-ticket projects.

NASA administrator Daniel Goldin complains of resistance within his agency. Congress worries that a cheaper station will be useless. The international partners wonder if they have hitched their own manned spaceflight programs to the wrong star. And the Russian experts invited to consult on the redesign have gone home, baffled by the administration's failure to decide whether or how it wants to work with them.

President Clinton might do well to scrap Freedom. It is futile to try to come up with a rational space station design when the larger space program lacks established long-term goals.

This administration should do what its predecessors failed to do: define what the US should accomplish in space and outline a realistic program to do it.

A common theme in previous space policy reviews has been the need to build a new spaceflight infrastructure if the US is to benefit from space activity. Today's technology, especially rocketry, is too costly and inefficient. Yet this obvious problem has been given low priority. It should be the central focus of a redesigned space program.

An Argument for Peace At Serbian Checkpoint

By M. Cherif Bassiouni

ON April 19, 1943, some 3,000 Waffen SS and auxiliary forces entered the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw. Their goal: total liquidation of the remaining 380,000 Jews forcefully held there. On that day, the brave and determined resisters sent out their last message for help, but no one answered their anguished plea.

Fifty years later, a commemoration ceremony took place in Warsaw. The past was remembered as the same atrocities were being repeated in the present. On that very day, I was on my way to the former Yugoslavia in my United Nations capacity. But, it was only in Sarajevo where I felt what it must have been like in Warsaw 50 years earlier, even though nothing can really compare with the Warsaw horror.

Lest people make the mistake of stigmatizing all Serbs, it must be said that they, too, are victimized.

Sarajevo, lodged in a narrow valley, is a charming old city full of historic monuments that many will remember as the site of the 1988 Winter Olympics. Its quarter of a million population was the epitome of pluralistic coexistence between Muslims, Catholics, and Serbian Orthodox. Now, only Bosnian Muslims, some Catholic Bosnians of Croatian origin, and a few urban Serbs remain in the city.

The Serb combatants occupy the hills, mountains, and surrounding forests where their artillery and sniper positions constantly shell the vulnerable city and its civilian inhabitants. The Bosnian Muslim forces defending the city are without artillery or armor. The odds are far from even.

For over 13 months, Sarajevo has been besieged and its only food and other essential supplies arrive on United Nations trucks, which the Serbs have allowed passage the last few months. The city has been without water and electricity for over 200 days; now it is partially restored in some areas. A third of the city has been destroyed. Almost every mosque and church has been hit, as have all major buildings. Every hospital has been hit, particularly the principal one, which has been deliberately and repeatedly targeted. And, according to Bosnian sources, there are over 12,000 civilian casualties, among them 1,304 children. All these are "protected" targets under international humanitarian law, and unless they can be shown to have had some military significance, or that they have been hit accidentally by reason of military necessity, such attacks constitute war crimes.

During my three days in Sarajevo, I stayed at the Holiday Inn, which has also been hard hit. The glass in the window of my room was shattered, and two bullets pierced the drapery. Day and night I heard the shelling and sniper fire all over the city. Civilians fell, randomly hit by mortar and cannon shells or sniper bullets. The Olympic Stadium, once the symbol of world friendship, is a heap of twisted metal beams and charred remnants.

One day, William Fenrick, my colleague on the UN commission, and I, went up one of the mountain roads behind Serb lines. We were stopped by the Serbian militia and detained there for over an hour. To diffuse the situation, I engaged the militiamen in light conversation through our interpreter.

An English-speaking militiaman, a Serbian university graduate, told me his version of the conflict's history. It was simple: The world continues to conspire against Serbs; Muslims and Croats do not belong here; either these people leave or they shall be killed; there is no such thing as Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Pope is the principal culprit because he supports the Catholic Croats who are the natural enemies of the Serbs, and upon whom the Serbs are only taking justifiable revenge. (The Croats during World War II sided with the Germans and killed an estimated 200,000 Serbs.)

As to the Muslims, they betrayed the Serbs when they embraced Islam several hundred years ago and sided with the Turks who occupied the Balkans. In his view, the Serbs were victims defending themselves and taking justifiable revenge against their enemies and aggressors. I debated his position and argued for peaceful coexistence and pluralism, but to no avail. The other militiamen sat in a row outside the bunker as a well-disciplined and attentive audience at an academic debate. But, soon they lost interest. The only benefit of the exercise was that they realized I could not be intimidated.

During the same week, the Warsaw ghetto uprising was commemorated and the Washington Holocaust museum dedicated. How extraordinary that the human conscience can commemorate past horrors while simultaneously witnessing present ones.

Lest people make the mistake of stigmatizing all Serbs, it must be said that they, too, are victimized by Croats and Muslims, even though in much lesser numbers. And lest people also think that everybody in this terrible conflict is a savage brute, it must also be said that there are many cases of unsung heroes and heroines on all sides who acted with humanness and compassion toward their enemies.

All is not bad and bleak. What is needed is an appeal to the best in all of us. That is why, when I met with the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch Pavle, I suggested that he meet with the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb and the leading Iman of Bosnia and that they should collectively appeal for peace.

At a time when everyone is speaking of war, it is necessary to speak of peace and reconciliation. But, until such time comes, those of us who bear witness must not let others forget.

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OPINION/ESSAYS

America's energy system is faced with the possible loss of two natural sources, geothermal and hot dry rock

A Troubled Energy Source

By Robert Glasser and Sam Pardue

WHILE two issues currently dominate the energy policy debate in the United States – President Clinton's proposed British thermal unit (Btu) tax and his recently announced commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions – a third, which may ultimately be more important, has been largely overlooked. We may lose an entire energy sector – geothermal energy – due to some disturbing recent developments.

The first is that the main industrial geothermal energy production in the US, the California hydrothermal fields at The Geysers in California, has suffered a serious setback. The supply of natural steam has been depleted much sooner than anyone predicted. One-third of the maximum output has been lost, and confidence in the industry has been severely shaken. Its survival may be at stake.

A second threat is that research on "hot dry rock" (HDR) technology, which represents both the most promising response to the problem at The Geysers and the most important geothermal technology for the future, may soon be shut down by the Department of Energy (DOE).

Hydrothermal energy is derived from the heat found in steam that occurs naturally in the ground – such as at The Geysers. HDR energy is obtained from water that is injected into a well, heated by the naturally occurring hot rock below, and extracted from a second well, where the heat energy is converted to electricity.

Scientists are exploring the possibility of using HDR technology as a means of reinvigorating The Geysers, and as a new energy source in its own right. The future of geothermal industry is generally considered to rest with HDR because the best known hydrothermal resources have already been developed and because it is an immensely larger, and thus a potentially hugely profitable, energy resource.

Why shut down research on HDR at this critical moment for the industry? Although Mr. Clinton plans to increase spending on alternative energy, money is in tight supply and other alternative energy sources, such as solar energy, seem closer to commercialization. Last year DOE spent a little over $20 million on geothermal energy, most of which went to addressing the problems at The Geysers. Only about $4 million went to HDR. Moreover, the Department of Energy is sensitive both to criticism that its energy research efforts are ineffective because they lack industry participation and direction and to the charge that industry is getting a free ride in technology development. Hence, before resuming a major investment in HDR, the DOE wants to see 50-50 cost-sharing with the private sector. Many at the DOE and elsewhere have lost patience with the HDR program, after a two-decades investment of close to $150 million, and numerous technical setbacks.

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Finally, the geothermal industry has a rather small political base. Only a few states, such as Nevada, California, and Utah, have commercial geothermal interests, and there is no significant geothermal industry lobbying in Washington. Environmental groups are a potential source of support in Washington.

The fundamental problem is that the DOE has been forced by circumstances to set a standard for continued funding (50-50 cost-sharing with industry) that may be impossible for the HDR program to achieve at this stage of development. The public utility industry has little incentive to invest in anything except improvements upon proven, existing technologies. Utility regulatory boards pass on to consumers any savings generated by reduced energy costs, eliminating the profit incentive that ordinarily drives research and development. The geothermal industry, beset by declining capacity at The Geysers, has oriented its research dollar toward that problem and has little capacity for directing money toward HDR. Most importantly, the technology still involves significant risks, and the research needed to reduce those risks is expensive.

In spite of this, HDR is not "pie in the sky." Given continued funding, the HDR program expects to have a commercial HDR plant operating within only five years. The fact that many energy policymakers in Washington and elsewhere are unaware of the tremendous progress that has been made in the technology in recent years is, in part, due to the program's remote location in the mountains of New Mexico, but more importantly to the lack of a solid political base of support.

If there is to be a future for geothermal energy in the US, some solution must be found to this impasse. One possibility is to relax somewhat the requirements for industry participation in HDR. The industry may be more able to participate if it can supplement its financial contribution with "in kind" contributions, such as the donation of equipment and expertise. Moreover, it is clearly time for industry to become more involved in the operational decisions of the HDR program. This would increase confidence both inside and outside of the DOE that HDR is proceeding as practically as possible toward commercialization.

Both our European and Japanese competitors have ongoing, well-funded geothermal energy development programs. Their HDR programs began as a result of cooperative work with the US in the 1980s. The US currently leads the world in HDR technology. However, without an increased commitment from Washington, the Japanese are expected to surpass the US in only a few years.

Our nation needs to decide quickly whether it wants to position itself to exploit the huge, global economic potential of this clean technology, or whether it wants to say goodbye to an energy sector that it has nurtured just to the point of fruition.

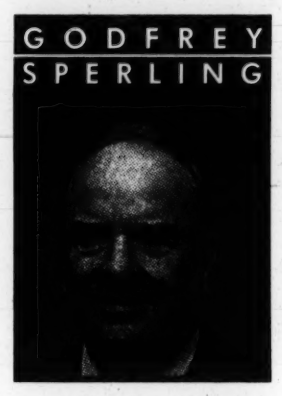
■ *Dr. Robert Glasser is a policy analyst with the Los Alamos National Laboratory. Sam Pardue is a staff research assistant at the laboratory. The views expressed are their own.*

Clinton Needs Course Correction

ONE would have thought that budget director Leon Panetta would have shaken things up more with his candor about mounting Clinton administration problems. He certainly got the president's attention: Clinton now is out campaigning for his economic and other programs. But there is little evidence that Mr. Panetta's evaluation has led to serious intentions about readjusting administration priorities or substantively narrowing the Clinton agenda.

Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown provided an early insight into what appears to be a continuing presidential unwillingness to restructure his programs. Mr. Brown spoke at a Monitor breakfast shortly after Panetta had his astonishing say about what he saw as the sad state of affairs in administration policy and planning. Listen to Brown's first words:

"During the campaign and since taking over the presidency Mr. Clinton has redefined the agenda for America. In my mind he was born to be president. He is extremely comfortable in the job. He has incredible intellect, energy, resilience. He's going to be a great president."



"But how about Leon Panetta's gloomy words about the administration?," someone asked.

"I think Panetta made a mistake," Brown said. "I disagree with the assessment. I'm dealing every day with the same issues he talks about. Having candor is different than being correct. He may have been candid but he was not correct."

Here Brown emphasized that this administration's election had been about "change." "We have accomplished a lot," he said. He acknowledged that "we now have some challenges. For example, we underestimated the Republican desire in the Senate to be obstructionists."

But Brown said he disagreed with Panetta's observation that Clinton had too much on his plate and that he should delay his health-care reform initiative until mid-summer: "We promised health care," he said, "and we must move forward with that."

Since Brown's visit with reporters that morning there has been little evidence that the president is substantively reshaping a course that some observers are already saying might lead to a failed presidency. He did decide to restructure his White House staff, seeking "more focus." And he did come up with a tax trust-fund proposal. But those moves only touch on his problems. Indeed, the trust proposal seems, of itself, to be an admission that the economic package is in trouble. And immediately the Republicans in Congress were saying they weren't buying the plan.

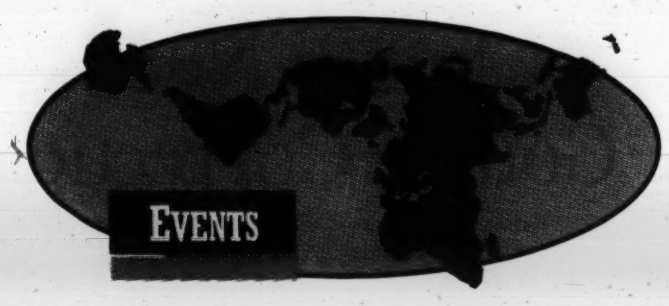
So it is that I find myself among a decreasing number of presidential watchers who persist in saying that it is still early and that the president has ample time to make a comeback.

The "obstructionists" are not really the Republicans in the Senate, plus a few Democrats. They are a lot of American people who are the naysayers today to what Clinton wants to do – many of whom voted for him.

Newt Gingrich, the GOP House Whip from Georgia, put it precisely right the other morning at breakfast when he said that if Clinton had told voters that he would be asking them to pay all these new and increased taxes so that they could have all the programs he promised, "Bush would have won and Clinton would have tied with Ross Perot for second."

The swing vote that swept Clinton into the presidency (not by much) came mainly from conservative Democrats, particularly in the South, and wavering Bush supporters, all of whom bought the concept that the Arkansas governor was a "new kind of Democrat." They liked his talk of "ending welfare as we know it," of a tax cut for those in the middle-income brackets, and of providing an underpinning for the family values of work and responsibility.

So now we have a beleaguered president with both Republicans and Perot shooting at him. To make a comeback, he must begin to push for spending cuts and find ways to avoid more taxes. He promised good things, too, along the way. He can still move ahead with change, and certainly provide some movement toward health-care reform. And how about making a serious effort to achieve campaign reform and really sweeping welfare reform? It's time for an early timeout, Clinton. It's time to regroup, reassess, and readjust priorities.



HOPES FOR PEACE FADE IN BOSNIA

Bosnian Serb leaders have pronounced a United Nations peace plan for Bosnia "dead" in the wake of a weekend referendum and say an independent Serb state is a reality. The commander of Bosnian Serb forces, Gen. Ratko Mladic, exuded defiance, saying any Western soldiers who might intervene to enforce the peace plan – as President Clinton has threatened – would meet fierce resistance from his fighters. "Whoever comes will leave his bones here," the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug quoted him as saying. Fighting raged yesterday between Croatian and Muslim Bosnians around the city of Mostar. Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, is scheduled to meet Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and the European Community's negotiator, Lord Owen, today to try again to make peace.

Arab-Israeli woes

Arab-Israeli violence claimed six more lives Sunday as Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin vowed that Israel would make no further unilateral gestures toward the Palestinians to achieve Middle East peace. Meanwhile, Palestinian peace negotiators said they plan to discuss with the United States a draft declaration of principles for Israeli-Palestinian talks. Israel and the Palestinians failed to reach agreement on the principles of interim Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the ninth round of peace talks which ended in Washington last week.

German neo-Nazi trial

Two right-wing extremists went on trial yesterday on charges of killing three Turks last November in a fire bombing that shocked German authorities into cracking down on neo-Nazi violence. One of the defendants denies taking part in the bombing, while the other has admitted his role in killing the two girls and their grandmother.

China-US trade

China has not made enough progress on issues the United States has linked to renewal of its most-favored-nation trade status, Winston Lord, the assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, said Sunday. Meanwhile, the Xinhua News Agency reported yesterday that China's economy continues to boom. Industrial production for the first four months was up 23 percent from a year earlier, the report said.

Supreme Court rulings

The Supreme Court yesterday let stand a ruling that barred the distribution of Gideon Bibles to fifth-graders in an Indiana public school system. The justices, without comment, rejected arguments by Rensselaer, Ind., school officials who said the longtime practice did not violate the constitutionally required separation of church and state. Yesterday, the Supreme Court also let a group of black Milwaukee residents sue under a federal fair-housing law for alleged racial discrimination in the sale of homeowners' insurance.

Democrats press for budget

White House communications director George Stephanopoulos yesterday challenged Republicans to say how they would reduce the federal deficit if they continue opposing President Clinton's plan. Meanwhile, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D) of Illinois, who guided the bulk of Clinton's plan through the House Ways and Means Committee last week, suggested little help will come from Republicans in either the House or Senate.

US West-Time partnership

US West, a major telephone company, has agreed to pay $2.5 billion to become Time Warner's partner in creating a "full-service" interactive system that gets information and entertainment to customers whenever they want it, the companies announced yesterday. The deal represents the first strategic alliance between a regional Bell phone company and a major cable television firm.

'Dave' whips Bruce Lee

Two movies released a week ago switched places atop the list of the weekend's top box office draws. "Dave" earned an estimated $8.6 million to move ahead of "Dragon: The Bruce Lee Story." "Dragon," which debuted last week in the No. 1 slot, earned an estimated $6.1 million for second place, an industry source said.

– Compiled by Max Boot

'Free Trade' Brings High Tax

By Sherrod Brown

UNTIL now, the debate in Congress over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has focused on the impact the proposed treaty would have on United States jobs. Both sides have marshaled impressive evidence to support their arguments.

Proponents claim that NAFTA, by lowering tariff barriers in Mexico, would open up a giant new market for American products and thus stimulate US production and create jobs. Opponents contend that the treaty would simply permit huge multinational corporations to take advantage of cheap labor in Mexico and export American jobs south of the border.

Meanwhile, the possible deciding factor in the NAFTA debate has been all but overlooked. That is, where would the federal government find the money to pay the enormous costs of implementing the treaty even if Congress were to approve it?

Given the budget-cutting mood now prevalent in Washington, the prospect of shelling out billions of dollars to make NAFTA a reality should be enough to unsettle even the most ardent free trader.

Officials from the state of Texas recently visited Capitol Hill to make the case for an estimated $10 billion in federal aid to finance NAFTA's implementation.

The Texas contingent's request for federal aid included at least $4 billion from Washington for water treatment projects alone, another $2 billion to $3 billion for transportation infrastructure projects (including highways, railroads, and waterways), several hundred million dollars for improved educational facilities along the Mexican border, and millions more for hospitals and clinics.

And that's just for Texas. Other border states, including New Mexico, Arizona, and California, have not completed their wish lists.

These requests are above and beyond the approximately $5 billion that the Clinton administration estimates would be necessary in trade-adjustment assistance (retraining and other programs) to workers who lose their jobs because of NAFTA.

If the administration's estimates are too optimistic – and, indeed, some experts predict that NAFTA would throw half a million or more Americans out of work – then the cash outlay for trade-adjustment assistance could rise significantly.

For many representatives and senators from northern industrial states, this scenario is a classic case of adding insult to injury.

Our economies are still being drained by the aftereffects of the recession during the 1980s, and our job bases are seriously threatened by the low-wage strategy that lies at the heart of NAFTA. Yet the border states, which according to the International Trade Commission likely will "benefit substantially under NAFTA," now seem intent on our subsidizing their start-up costs.

It is sadly ironic that the free traders who support NAFTA on philosophical grounds, on their strong belief in the free marketplace, would be the first in line for federal handouts to implement the agreement.

Purely by coincidence, the Texas state delegation arrived in Washington just as President Clinton was locked in partisan combat with Phil Gramm and other Senate Republicans over an economic stimulus package, the cost of which was only slightly more than the amount that the Texans claim they need to make their state NAFTA-ready.

Mr. Clinton's opponents claimed that his stimulus program would increase the budget deficit. Maybe this same group could now explain why the costs of implementing the North American Free Trade Agreement will not.

■ *Rep. Sherrod Brown (D) is a member of Congress from Ohio.*